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"SEXPLOITATION" IN HIGH GOVERNMENT REVEALED

SEE CENTERFOLD.

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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VOL. XV NO. 22

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1976

25¢



David Johnson Gets 13 Years In Adjustment Center

MOTION FOR NEW TRIAL CHARGES D.A. SPYING ON S.Q. 6 JURY

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San Quentin Six defendant DAVID JOHNSON, one of three inmates convicted in the August 12 compromise jury verdict, has been sentenced to 13 years in the infamous Adjustment Centers of the California prison system by San Quentin's Classification Committee.

(San Rafael, Calif.) - According to a motion for a new trial for San Quentin 6 defendant David Johnson filed in Superior Court here last Wednesday, Marin County District Attorney Bruce Bales was caught spying upon the San Quentin 6 jury during the course of their sequestered deliberations.

Filed by Frank Cox, the Marin County public defender who served as Johnson's defense counsel during the lengthy, 16-month trial, the seven-page motion asserts that:

"The facts are that Bruce Bales, the District Attorney of the County of Marin, and one of the key witnesses against defendant David Johnson, attempted to both view the interior of the jury deliberation room, and to enter that room, from a restricted security corridor. He was eyewitnessed in this conduct by trial jurors who were returning from an Open Court session, who immediately reported this offense to a law officer. The jurors were then deliberating on Count Eight, the only charge found against defendant Johnson. Whether Mr. Bales did this deliberately or inadvertently was never made known to the trial jury, or anyone except the trial judge, who did nothing about it.

"The Court's apparent permissiveness with Mr. Bales, as perceived by a sequestered jury, was an open invitation to convict defendant David Johnson based upon Mr. Bales' trial testimony, and the theories of the prosecutor's office.

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Editorial

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

THE BLACK PANTHER joins our comrades fighting for the liberation of Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa and freedom-loving people everywhere in denouncing the talks held this week between U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and South African "Prime Minister" John Vorster. (See article, page 7.)

First of all — as the Congressional Black Caucus noted — it is the height of hypocrisy for the U.S. to meet with the arch enemy of Black people in southern Africa to "negotiate" majority rule in Rhodesia and Namibia when South Africa refuses to abolish its own strict segregation policies. If the Vorster regime thinks that by helping to accomplish Black rule in Rhodesia and Namibia it will be exempted from doing the same in South Africa, Black South Africans will then have no choice but to escalate their increasingly militant anti-apartheid struggle.

Second, who authorized Kissinger and Vorster to decide the fate of southern Africa? Certainly not the Black people there who are ably led by the South West African People's Organization of Namibia, the Zimbabwe Liberation Army and the Zimbabwe African National Union of Rhodesia, and the Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress of South Africa. Nor did the governments of Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, Angola and Botswana, who are providing the liberation movements in Rhodesia and Namibia, in particular, with much needed aid, give their blessing to the Kissinger-Vorster meeting.

Indeed, these five African countries, along with SWAPO, ZILA, ZANU and others, conducted their own talks in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and announced that they would continue the armed liberation struggle, virtually ignoring Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy."

We, as oppressed people, can never trust the oppressor to "negotiate" in our interests. Peaceful solutions to establishing majority rule in southern Africa have failed so far because of opposition by South Africa and Rhodesia. Only through the continuation of the armed struggle will freedom ultimately be won. □



COMMENT

Where Sports Are More Than Games

The following Comment, written by Reinier Lock, a White former reporter for the Johannesburg (South Africa) Financial Mail and presently a San Francisco attorney, provides new insights into the recent Black African boycott of the Montreal Olympics.

Predictably, the impending tour of South Africa by an American gymnastics team has provoked protests from a number of Black African nations. The reactions of those few Americans aware of this outcry were equally predictable, ranging from lack of interest to mild irritation.

Indeed, most White Westerners find the Third World's continuing preoccupation with South Africa's position in international sport a bothersome mystery. The typical American response to the African boycott of the Montreal Olympics was a case in point. Withdrawing from the games en masse just because the participating New Zealanders had sent a rugby team to South Africa seemed at best politically obscure and, at worst, a threat to the whole fabric of international competition.

Both reactions reflect an inadequate understanding of Black African attitudes. To a lot of Americans, apartheid is no more than a pesky political intrusion on international sport, but to Africans it is a burning political reality that influences almost every aspect of their international relations.

Thus the Africans feel fully justified in exposing and embarrassing any nation that gives White supremacist regimes any semblance of psychological support through political, economic, social or even sports contacts. This was their purpose in leaving Montreal and, in the case of New Zealand, it may have been accomplished: Shortly after the games, Dick Quax, one of New Zealand's Olympics medalists, blasted his government on national television for having allowed the rugby tour to proceed.

Actually, the Africans' decision to focus their discontent on rugby

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

Letters to the Editor

FREE LORENZO KEMBOA ERVIN

Dear Editor:

Lorenzo Komboa Ervin is a 29-year-old Black political prisoner at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. Previously, he had been involved in Black, G.I., and antiwar activities.

After his court-martial and dismissal from the U.S. Army because of his antiwar and Black rights activities, he returned home to Chattanooga, Tennessee, where he worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). However, because of harassment and an attempt on his life by the Chattanooga Police Department and the FBI, and his refusal to testify before a grand jury about the "Black Power Movement," he was forced to leave Chattanooga and went to Atlanta, Georgia.

In order to dramatically protest the war in Vietnam and the government's repression of SNCC, and to avoid capture and possible death by the FBI, he hijacked a plane to Cuba for political asylum. After remaining in Cuba for awhile, he went to East Germany (GDR), Poland and Czechoslovakia—spending some time studying at a Marxist Institute and working with African student groups. He was planning to leave for asylum in the West African Republic of Guinea, but he was followed while in those countries by CIA agents who overpowered him, shot him full of the drug thorazine, and smuggled him across the border to West Berlin, where he was thrown aboard a flight to the U.S.A. and arrested upon arrival in New York by FBI agents. He was then extradited to Georgia where he was put on trial — still under the influence of drugs — and given two life sentences in a railroad trial.

Komboa has been in prison for over seven years and has suffered enough! He is now in court demanding a new trial, but the government is stalling. Please write letters demanding justice be done in this case to: Judge Richard C. Freeman, U.S. District Court, Northern District of Georgia, P.O. Box 1657, Atlanta, Ga. 30301, (404) 526-6814.

For more information about the case, contact: Friends of Lorenzo Ervin, c/o Reverend Robert Horton, 855 Woods Road, Southampton, Pa. 18966.

Ralph Goldberg
776 Juniper Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30308

"REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE" REQUESTED

Comrades,

I have been confined to the "hole" for three years now and I am in need of your help. Would you "please" send me "Revolutionary Suicide," by Huey P. Newton? I appreciate your help and I will share this knowledge with other comrades.

Thank you very much,
Yours undauntedly in the struggle,
Fred Burton, #F3896
P.O. Box 9901
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15233

THE BLACK PANTHER

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BPINS photo
PAUL COBB addresses Oakland City Council.

City Council Says "Thanks" For Grove-Shafter Lobby Move

(Oakland, Calif.) - Mayor Reading looked sick, his conservative cohort Councilman Fred Maggiora looked confused - but elsewhere throughout the City Council chambers last Tuesday night, things looked bright.

The reason for the mayor's displeasure was due to the passage of two resolutions by the City Council:

The first, made by Councilman George Vukasin, committed the city government to sending a letter to the newly-formed Oakland Council for Economic Development (OCED) expressing serious community reservations concerning the lack of Black involvement and participation.

The second, forwarded by Councilman John Sutter, expressed the Council's "thanks" to the delegation of Oakland community representatives, led by Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown, for their lobbying efforts in Sacramento with Governor Jerry Brown, and achieving a possible breakthrough in the completion of the long-stalled Grove-Shafter Freeway project.

Passage of the resolutions was considered as a victory for those who have worked diligently in recent weeks to make the Council aware and responsive to critical problems - particularly unemployment - facing the Black and poor communities of this port city. Knowledgeable insiders particularly credit Paul Cobb, executive director of the Oakland Citizens' Committee on Urban Renewal (OCCUR), BPP leader

OAKLAND MAYOR ATTACKS ELAINE BROWN OVER NEW ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

(Oakland, Calif.) - Unnerved by recent Black community successes in achieving a tentative breakthrough in the long-stalled Grove-Shafter Freeway project, Oakland Mayor John Reading ramrodded official city recognition for a new Oakland Council for Economic Development (OCED) through the City Council on Tuesday, August 31, bitterly attacking Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown in the process.

The fireworks were sparked when Elaine joined Paul Cobb, the Black executive director of the Oakland Citizens' Committee for Urban Renewal (OCCUR), and other speakers in seeking a one-week postponement in the City Council's vote on OCED, a blue-chip group of 16 of the city's top business and industrial leaders whose purpose is to attract new businesses to Oakland and promote economic development. Particularly at issue is Black community involvement and participation in OCED. (See article, this page.)

The stage was set for Reading's attack against Elaine when Paul Cobb, speaking for himself and the Oakland Black Caucus, addressed the Council about his concerns related to OCED.

Recalling the previous week's whirlwind lobbying effort in Sacramento in which he participated—which succeeded in prom-



ELAINE BROWN recently led a delegation to Sacramento seeking a speed-up in the construction of the Grove-Shafter Freeway (artist's conception above.)

ises that attempts would be made to move up the completion date for the Grove-Shafter from 1981 to 1978—Cobb told the Council that Governor Brown had requested "evidence that the business community, the economic



BPINS photo
interests in this city, were prepared to make a commitment for the 10,000 potential jobs" the Grove-Shafter Freeway project will mean for Oakland.

A top priority of the OCED will be the construction of the final three-quarters of a mile of the Grove-Shafter, a vital link between the downtown Oakland City Center complex and the suburban consumer market. Several businesses have said that they will not commit themselves to the City Center unless assured that the Grove-Shafter will be completed before 1981.

Commenting that he was concerned about OCED's access to federal monies for community development and, indeed, that Safeway, the world's largest food chain, was not included ("You have allowed Safeway to slip

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

Fallen Comrade

LARRY ROBERSON

Assassinated

September 4, 1969



On the morning of July 14, 1969, Black Panther Party member Larry Roberson and his companions noticed Chicago police harassing a group of elderly Black men, forcing them to line up against a wall. An argument arose and the police pulled their guns and started shooting. Larry was critically wounded in the stomach, thigh and leg, but managed to wound two of his police assailants. Comrade Larry was taken to Cook County Hospital where he was harassed, threatened and periodically beaten. As a result of this inhumane treatment, Larry Roberson died on September 4, 1969. Long Live the Spirit of Larry Roberson! Long Live the People's Struggle!!



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



RECEIVE CERTIFICATES OF COMMENDATION AT AWARDS DINNER AND DANCE

O.C.L.C. PROGRAMS HONOR COMMUNITY VOLUNTEERS

(Oakland, Calif.) - The popular Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC) last Saturday night honored its over 100 volunteer workers, who unselfishly give of their time to make the numerous OCLC educational, cultural and community service programs function smoothly, with a combination awards ceremony and dinner/dance.

The highly enjoyable and informal program was not only an opportunity for the OCLC to show its appreciation to the Center's dedicated volunteers but also allowed many of the volunteers who work in different programs to get better acquainted with each other.

On hand for the occasion were volunteers who serve in such areas as the Free Legal Aid and Educational Program, the People's Free Medical Clinic, the Seniors Against A Fearful Environment (S.A.F.E.) Program, the Free Film Series, the Sports Program and SPEDY (Special Education for Disadvantaged Youth) Program. In welcoming everyone, OCLC Programs Director Joan Kelley noted, "Without you, there would be no Oakland Community Learning Center programs."

DIVERSE BACKGROUNDS

OCLC volunteers come from such diverse backgrounds, Joan explained, that there is "no average volunteer." Ten-year-old children, teenagers, college students, parents, professionals, nonprofessionals, the disabled and senior citizens can all be found at the Learning Center. Many work in areas outside their specific programs, tirelessly helping to care for the building that has become a haven for the predominantly Black East Oakland community.

"Our volunteers feel that this is their building and that the programs are their own," Joan said.

After enjoying some tasty hors d'oeuvres and informal conversations, the volunteers settled down for a brief slide show on OCLC programs. In addition to the programs already mentioned, slides were shown of the Oakland Community School (OCS), which will begin its sixth year on Monday, September 13. Although the OCS operates separately from the OCLC programs, the model elementary level school is a vital part of the Learning Center.

Following a delicious pot luck

Community volunteer **DONNA BERRY** receives certificate from OCLC programs director **JOAN KELLEY** (right). Below, honored guests enjoy themselves.



dinner prepared by the volunteers, they were awarded certificates of community service. For this part of the program, Joan was joined by Henry Smith, coordinator of the People's Free Medical Clinic, and Steve McCutchen, director of the Sports Program.

Joan, "Smitty" and Steve had glowing words of praise for all the volunteers, and as they came forward to receive their certificates, it was clear from the

expressions on their faces that they are proud to be a part of the OCLC. (See next week's issue for the names of those honored.)

Throughout the evening, the crowd danced to the entertaining sounds of the Darryl Bluford Royal Quintet who volunteered their talents for the occasion.

It was a fun evening for all and just one more example of why the Learning Center is so greatly loved and respected by the community. □

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY



September 6, 1865

On September 6, 1865, Thaddeus Stevens, the powerful U.S. congressman, urged confiscation of the estates of Confederate leaders and distribution of their land in 40-acre lots to the newly freed slaves.

September 8, 1875

During the so-called "Reconstruction" period following the Civil War, Blacks were theoretically given the right to vote. However, exercising this right was another problem. On September 8, 1875, the Mississippi governor requested federal troops to protect the rights of Black voters. The request was refused.

September 9, 1915

On September 9, 1915, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was founded by Dr. Carter G. Woodson. The great pioneering work of the Association has only recently received its rightful recognition.

September 9, 1957

The new Hattie Cotton Elementary School of Nashville, Tennessee, with an enrollment of one Black child and 388 Whites, was virtually destroyed by a dynamite blast on September 9, 1957.

September 9, 1971

On September 9, 1971, inmates at Attica State Prison initiated their now famous rebellion. The inmates issued a list of 15 demands, including guaranteed coverage by New York state minimum wage laws, an end to censorship of reading materials, better food and no reprisals for the revolt. On Monday, September 13—"Bloody Monday"—over 1,000 New York state troopers and police attacked the prison, killing 43 persons, including 32 inmates. On this same day, a revised autopsy report showed that Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson was shot in the back on August 21, 1971, not through the top of the head as it was originally reported. Jackson's death had a profound impact on inmates at Attica and helped to mold the unprecedented unity which was displayed during the uprising.

THE COMMITTEE FOR

JUSTICE

FOR

HUEY P. NEWTON

AND THE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE IS CALLING FOR NATIONWIDE SUPPORT FOR THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY'S LAWSUIT AGAINST THE FBI AND OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES RESPONSIBLE FOR REPRESSION AGAINST THE PARTY. THIS CRUCIAL LAWSUIT SEEKS TO REDRESS PAST WRONGS, AND TO EXPOSE AND STOP THE CONTINUING GOVERNMENT HARASSMENT.

- ☐ Please add me to the Committee for Justice mailing list
- ☐ I can help distribute literature
- ☐ Please send the Committee for Justice newsletter
- ☐ I enclose a contribution of \$_____ for the lawsuit (funds are badly needed)
- ☐ Please send me _____ posters at \$1.50 each

Name _____
 Address _____ City _____
 State _____ Zip _____

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON
 P.O. Box 297, Oakland, Calif. 94604

FREE HUEY!



Brown Supports U.F.W.'s Proposition 14

(Sacramento, Calif.) — California Governor Jerry Brown last week enthusiastically endorsed the United Farm Workers (UFW)-sponsored Proposition 14 on the state's November 2 ballot.

"It will provide the rule of law where there has been no law for several decades," Brown said at a press conference. "It protects the farmer, the farmworkers and the citizens," he added.

In one month, the UFW gathered over 800,000 signatures to put Proposition 14 on the ballot. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.) The initiative will: (1) make permanent the "access rule" that permits union organizers on farm property to talk with workers; (2)

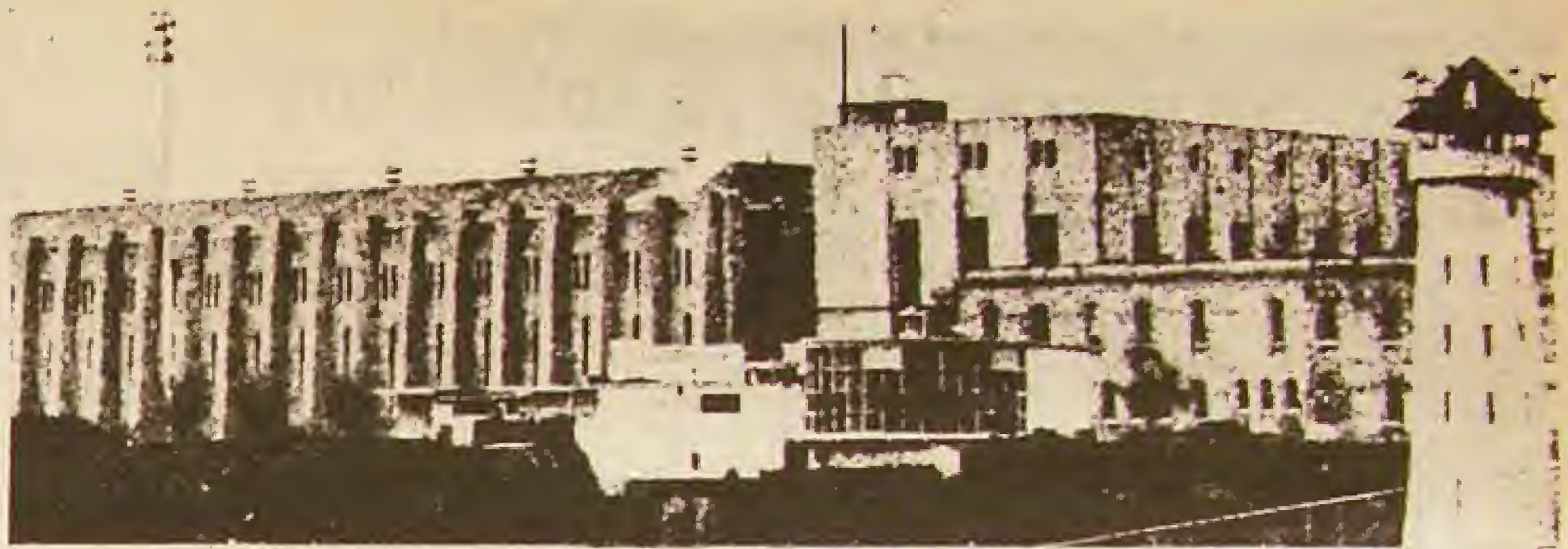


UFW workers and supporters led successful drive to get Proposition 14 on the ballot.

guarantee funding of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB), which oversees farm elections; and (3) make into law the rules of the ALRB (then the laws could only be amended by another statewide initiative).

Brown argued that the initiative will guarantee "stability" for the ALRB, which oversees farmworkers' elections, and take it "out of the political arena." The Board was shut down for most of this year because growers opposed to its operation persuaded conservative legislators to block its funding.

Brown stated that Proposition 14 was made necessary by "a gang of high priced lobbyists" who blocked farm labor funds until new money was obtained through the regular state budget. Grower opponents have already pledged a \$2 million campaign against the initiative. □



California's San Quentin Prison.

NEW FIXED TERM SYSTEM IMPOSED

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE SCRAPS INDETERMINATE SENTENCING

(Sacramento, Calif.) — In the closing hours of its two-hour session, the California legislature scrapped the state's 59-year-old prison indeterminate sentencing system, substituting one calling for relatively fixed sentences for most crimes.

Abandonment of the indeterminate sentence means an end to the arbitrary process whereby a judge would sentence an individual to a broad sentence, such as "one to 10" or "one to indeterminate," and later the state parole board, the California Adult Authority, would set a specific parole date for each individual person.

In theory, the Adult Authority was to release prisoners when they demonstrated "rehabilitation." In practice, indeterminate sentencing became a patchwork of guess work, bias and current politics, usually ranging from conservative to right-wing.

Although originally initiated in 1917 as a prison reform, the indeterminate sentence has been

under attack in recent years by prisoners' groups and civil libertarians as racist and unfairly unpredictable for prisoners.

"It is a liberal experiment that turned out to be a colossal failure," said Sidney Wolinsky, attorney for the plaintiffs in a federal class action suit against the indeterminate sentencing system filed three years ago on behalf of all prisoners and former prisoners.

Under the bill by Senator John Nejedly (Walnut Creek), criminal sentences would be fixed by the court when an individual is first convicted. Although judges would have some leeway, sentences would have to stay within the relatively narrow ranges established by law.

The only exceptions to the new code would be for first-degree murder and the few other "offenses" punishable by life in prison. For these cases, the indeterminate sentence would remain, allowing release after a minimum of seven years.

The fixed penalty legislation would also abolish the Adult Authority and the Women's Board. Their functions would be assumed by a new Community Release Board. The new board would establish sentences for persons already imprisoned under the indeterminate laws and would review denials of sentence reductions for good behavior in prison.

The scrapping of the indeterminate sentencing was considered as a victory for Governor Jerry Brown, whose legal affairs advisor, Anthony Kline, lobbied for the legislation throughout the day and into the night. The final vote — 59 to 18 in the Assembly, 25 to 9 in the Senate — didn't reflect the more than 13 hours of political wrangling and sometimes sharp debate.

BLOOD BATH

Conservative Senator H.L. Richardson (Arcadia) predicted, "You're going to release a blood bath on the people of California," during an unsuccessful filibuster against the new bill. At one point Richardson, heated, shouted that backers would have "blood up to your elbows" from the release of prisoners who are now held indefinitely.

Outgoing maverick assemblyman Ken Meade (Berkeley) labeled the bill "a sincere but futile effort to reform a system bankrupt at the core." "Wherever there's a headline crime, we'll have 18 bills in here to increase the penalties," said assemblyman John Vasconcellos (San Jose), a liberal opponent, citing the possibility that the measure would result in harsher penalties.

One amendment tacked on just before passage calls for a requirement that a parole hearing transcript be made public 30 days before an individual serving life is released. (Also, see article, page 8.) □

Richmond Residents Organize To Combat Police Terror

(Richmond, Calif.) — A group of sixty Richmond area residents have organized to combat police terror after Richmond and San Pablo police used indiscriminate brutality against a group of Black, White and Chicano partygoers.

The group, which calls itself HELP, says that after an initial scuffle with police involving only one or two individuals, the police entered the home of Margaret Peon Del Valle, indiscriminately swinging their clubs and using profanity. They then herded the people in the house, including women and children, out onto the front lawn where they were made to lie face down. The group says the police then roamed the area, beating onlookers without provocation.

HELP reports that more than eight of its members were treated at hospitals for injuries including concussions, scalp lacerations, a broken hand, broken fingers and numerous bruises. One woman suffered a severe asthma attack and another suffered a miscarriage after witnessing a beating.

The group has been organized to support those of its members who face criminal charges as a result of the incident. The group will also lobby for a civilian agency to review complaints against the police. They want an agency that is independent of city management and which has power to curb what HELP says is the rising problem of police violence in low-income areas.

O.H.A. BLAMES TENANTS FOR CONDITIONS IN SAN ANTONIO VILLA

(Oakland, Calif.) — The Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) has sent a belated — and pathetic — response to the demands put before it by the San Antonio Tenants' Union, essentially putting much of the blame for the deficiencies and problems found in the Villa on the tenants themselves.

The demands were put before the OHA in a meeting held between OHA commissioners and tenants of San Antonio on July 13, 1976, at Havenscourt Junior High School. The commis-



Children at San Antonio Villa (above) have only a decaying "recreation center" (left) and ill-equipped playgrounds for play and exercises. In the OHA response to Tenants' Union demands, residents were blamed for the conditions in the housing project.



sioners had promised to hold the meeting in the Villa itself, so residents who attended the meeting walked out, demanding that the commissioners and attending media "tour" the deteriorating 178-unit housing project.

During their "tour," the commissioners acted as if they were appalled, uttering such phrases as, "This place should never have been built," "It should be torn down," etc. However, Black OHA Executive Director Harold Davis, who seemed to have his nose turned up the entire time he was there, seemed irritated by the concerns of the tenants.

When asked to inspect the Villa recreation center, which is literally a shell of a portable classroom with no lights, water, heat or electricity, Davis initially refused until he was forced to comply, due to the repeated urging of residents.

In a letter dated August 25, Davis and his staff did not take responsibility for any of the serious deficiencies and housing code violations found in San Antonio Villa. In many cases, where public services are involved, the "excuse" often used is lack of funds — an "excuse" which was not used even once in the six-page letter. Instead, Davis constantly chose to blame tenants

and their children for various deficiencies.

In areas that were dealt with in the letter concerning torn down clotheslines, unsightly exterior property appearance and uncleanliness of the grounds — all these problems allegedly were caused by tenants, according to Davis. In relationship to the vandalism, San Antonio residents have pleaded with the OHA and the city of Oakland to provide adequate recreational facilities for the over 600 children in the Villa. Only this, tenants repeatedly have pointed out, will cut down on excessive vandalism.

One of the "solutions" in the letter called for tenants to take their children to the recreation center in the neighboring Lockwood Gardens housing project to play or to a park which is located several blocks away. However, the facilities at Lockwood Gardens do not even meet the needs of the children who are living in this project and going "a few blocks" away to another park is not such an easy matter as the OHA believes for very young children.

In addition to this, the park mentioned in the letter consists of a number of softball fields, which are not proper facilities for small children.

Tenants have also pointed out that a major problem with maintaining cleanliness in the Villa has been a lack of adequate garbage pick-ups. The OHA letter claims that the tenants' refusal to "bag garbage and flatten boxes" is the real reason for trash overflowing out of garbage bins, which are too small in the first place.

In the area of maintenance, the OHA openly contradicted tenant complaints by saying that response to maintenance requests has become satisfactory. There are still complaints of having to wait anywhere from a few days to a month to have maintenance requests answered. During the inspection held by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), one woman remarked that the heating in her apartment had not worked for years.

Finally, in discussing the problem of undue police abuse and harassment of residents by OHA security guards and Oakland police, the OHA letter admitted that Davis personally requested the unnecessary amount of police who, until recently, constantly patrolled San Antonio. However, the statement handed to the OHA commissioners requested the removal of specific police officers. In its letter the OHA arrogantly referred residents to the Oakland police, whose internal affairs division rarely, if ever, properly reprimands offending officers. □

EYES ON CITY HALL



White Contractors Attack

Affirmative Action

(Oakland, Calif.) — A number of White contractors and subcontractors here have launched an attack on the Oakland School District's affirmative action program, which is acclaimed as one of the most effective in the country.

The Oakland school system started a \$70 million program a few years ago, reports the *Oakland Tribune*, to rebuild schools to California earthquake safety standards. In order to provide minority construction firms with a fair share of district construction funds, an affirmative action program was implemented which mandated that general contractors use minority businesses for no less than 25 per cent of the project's total construction costs.

However, the White Construction Industry Council (CIC) and the Associated General Contractors of California (AGC) have filed suit to have this requirement rescinded. The suit lost its first battle last February, when the Alameda County Superior Court refused to stop the school district from awarding contracts under the new policy until the issue was settled in the courts. The case was also taken to the state supreme court which also refused to enjoin (stop) the school district from implementing its policies.

After their futile court efforts a number of Eastbay contractors and subcontractors are now refusing to bid for Oakland school construction projects.

Minority contractor Ray Dones commented, "When our fellows do have a fair shake on bidding the job, they hold their own. They don't always get a fair shake."

To combat the suit filed by the White construction associations, the Oakland School District has hired a noted private attorney, former Berkeley City Attorney Donald McCollum, to file a countersuit charging the CIC and other parties with violation of state antitrust laws by conspiring to fix and maintain prices, fix terms and conditions for allocating bids and suppressing competition in the bidding process. □

KISSINGER-VORSTER TALKS IGNORED

AFRICAN LEADERS VOW
STEP-UP IN ARMED
LIBERATION STRUGGLE

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - Ignoring the much publicized talks in Zurich, Switzerland, between U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and South African "Prime Minister" John Vorster seeking peaceful solutions to the problems of southern Africa, the leaders of five Black African states this week vowed here to continue the armed struggle for majority (Black) rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Namibia (South West Africa).

In another blow to the Zurich meeting, the Congressional Black Caucus issued a statement condemning the talks. The Caucus attacked the hypocrisy of U.S. efforts to bring about majority rule in Namibia and Rhodesia without bringing any pressure to

Africa and have been coordinating the armed liberation struggles in Rhodesia and Namibia.

The five African leaders conferred behind closed doors with SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) President Sam Nujoma and leaders of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle, including Joshua Nkomo and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, heads of two separate factions of the reactionary African National Council (ANC); Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, former president of the progressive Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU); and Robert Mugabe, a leading member of ZANU who is heading the Mozambique-based Zimbabwe Liberation Army (ZILA).



Mozambique President SAMORA MACHEL (left) and Angolan President AGOSTINHO NETO were among five African leaders who met this week in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

bear on South Africa for abolishing its own cruel apartheid system of racial segregation. The Caucus demanded that America break its ties with South Africa until apartheid is destroyed.

AFRICAN SUMMIT

Indeed, the African summit meeting — announced unexpectedly last Friday by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere on the eve of the Zurich meeting — upstaged the U.S. secretary of state's latest "shuttle diplomacy" efforts to bring about negotiated settlements in Rhodesia and Namibia. Worldwide attention abruptly turned from Zurich to the talks held by Presidents Nyerere, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Seretse Khama of Botswana and Agostinho Neto of Angola.

Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana are considered the frontline states in southern



The talks between South African "Prime Minister" JOHN VORSTER (left) and U.S. Secretary of State HENRY KISSINGER have been denounced by African leaders as well as Black Americans.

Earlier in the week, Nujoma condemned the Kissinger-Vorster talks. The SWAPO leader said that the secretary of state's "main concern" is "securing White interests" in southern Africa and that his suspicions had been aroused by American attempts to limit United Nations action against South Africa for failure to end its illegal rule of Namibia.

Meanwhile, Kissinger and Vorster were vague about the outcome of their meeting. Addressing a news conference in Zurich last Monday before he flew to London to brief British officials on the talks, the U.S. diplomat said that "progress" had been made toward achieving negotiated settlements in Rhodesia and Namibia. At a later news conference, Vorster was even more tight-lipped, saying that he had nothing to add to Kissinger's comments.

For his part, Kissinger was reluctant to divulge any details because of the uncertainty about

the Dar es Salaam discussions. The secretary of state had previously announced that following his talks with Vorster, he would undertake a second peace mission to southern Africa, possibly making an unprecedented visit to South Africa. However, the African summit meeting forced him to postpone his plans since, at that point, he had received no encouragement from the leaders of the frontline states.

Despite the present secrecy surrounding the particulars of the Zurich talks, the overall agenda was public knowledge:

•Rhodesia — The U.S. is urging South Africa to use its influence as Rhodesia's main ally to persuade the breakaway British colony to agree to an American-British proposal that would bring about majority rule in two years. At the same time, in return for surrendering their illegal government, Rhodesia's White population would be given from \$1.5 to \$2 billion to help those who choose to leave the country or those who decide to stay and sell their assets to the incoming Black government.

•Namibia — Billed as the focus of the Kissinger-Vorster talks, Kissinger's Namibia plan centers around South Africa's agreement to grant immediate majority rule to the colony and to include SWAPO in future talks on the establishment of majority rule in the territory.

Before he left for Zurich, Kissinger made a cheap attempt to gain Black American support for his southern Africa initiative in a Philadelphia speech before the predominantly Black Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC). His wishy-washy remarks, partly condemning the apartheid system of South Africa and partly praising it, failed to impress American Blacks or Africans who know all too well that the U.S. has its own interests — not those of Black people — at heart in southern Africa.

MEET AND HEAR
YOUR ELECTED
SCHOOL OFFICIALS

Attend

THE ALAMEDA
COUNTY BOARD OF
EDUCATION
MEETINGHosted By Oakland Community School
Director Ericka HugginsThursday, September 30, 1976
8:00 p.m.

Place to be announced

CALIFORNIA LAWMAKERS PASS MAJOR LEGISLATION ON SCHOOLS, HOUSING, CRIME

(Sacramento, Calif.) — Ending its current two-year session with a flurry of activity, California lawmakers last week sent to Governor Brown a literal bundle of significant legislation, the most noteworthy, of course, being the banning of the indeterminate prison sentencing procedure. (See page 5.)

Two other major pieces of legislation passed just minutes before the clock struck 12 midnight, August 31 — the session's final deadline — both involving teens and young adults.

Just three minutes before midnight, the legislature approved a second major crime bill, one which would make it easier to send 16- and 17-year-olds to adult courts for charges involving violent crimes.

Introduced by Julian Dixon (Los Angeles), who is Black and acts as Democratic caucus chairman, if the juvenile is accused of any of 11 violent crimes, the individual would be presumed "unfit" for the juvenile justice system and would be required to offer proof in order not to be tried in adult court.

COMPROMISE MOVE

In a compromise move to appease civil libertarians, the Dixon legislation removes "status offenders" (runaways, truants) from juvenile detention facilities, thus requiring counties to set up programs such as runaway shelters and halfway houses.

Moments earlier, the legislators passed a new law to require all high school students, starting in 1981, to prove they can adequately read, write and do basic math before graduation.

Authored by Assemblyman Gary Hart (Santa Barbara), and carrying a \$399,000 price tag, the bill demands that local school boards adopt minimum standards in reading, writing and arithmetic by June, 1978. The testing procedure would actually begin at the junior high school level, with all students tested once between grades 7 through 9. Governor Brown listed the bill as one of the legislature's "major accomplishments."

Also passed by the legislature during the last day's activities were:

•**HOUSING** — Prohibit discrimination in housing on the basis of sex and marital status; Hughes (Los Angeles);

•**HOUSING** — Would exempt privately owned housing projects



Legislation passed by California state legislature requires all high school students to demonstrate a proficiency in basic skills before graduation.

which have a minority of low-income units from a requirement that they be approved by local voters; Sieroty (Los Angeles);

•**SCHOOLS** — Would require school counselors to explore with students careers which are non-traditional for their sex; Mori (Pleasanton);

•**SCHOOLS** — Would appropriate \$3.8 million to promote bilingual cross-cultural education programs in public schools; Chacon (San Diego);

•**SCHOOLS** — Extends from two to three years the study to identify why student performance is unusually high in some districts and unusually low in others; Greene (Sacramento); bill signed after depletion of appropriation;

•**PRIVACY** — Would require a government agency to obtain either court or consumer permission before obtaining a copy of a customer's financial records from a bank or other lending institution; Sieroty (Los Angeles);

•**PRIVACY** — Allows citizens to see most personal records kept on them by the state, permits them to request changes in the

records and allows appeal if the request is denied; Roberti (Los Angeles)

•**PRISONERS** — Makes prisoners eligible for workers' compensation benefits for injury or death arising from prison work, payable on release; Behr (Tiburon);

•**HEALTH** — Would establish a state Board of Health to formulate general policies affecting public health; Bellenson (Los Angeles);

•**STRIKERS** — Would prohibit strikers (including police) from carrying guns on the picket line; Sieroty (Los Angeles);

•**ENVIRONMENTAL** — Would appropriate \$31 million for coastal use, including \$1.5 million to fund the state Coastal Commission; McCarthy (San Francisco);

•**ENVIRONMENTAL** — Would after the first of January, 1978, prohibit any government agency from construction of any new building which has more than 35,000 square feet unless it first made a cost analysis of at least two heating and cooling systems, one of which must be solar; Alquist (San Jose). □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Doctor Shortage

(Berkeley, Calif.) — Physicians are concentrated in areas where they can make more money, leaving low-income rural and urban areas without proper medical services, according to the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education. "... A serious problem is the deficiency of supply of physicians in the ghetto areas of large cities, where residents tend to depend on crowded hospital outpatient clinics, rather than on private physicians, for medical care," the Council said.

F.B.I. Director O.K.'ed

(Washington, D.C.) — President Ford announced last week that he will not fire FBI Director Clarence Kelley despite recommendations received by Attorney General Edward H. Levi from two high-level Justice Department officials: one, that Kelley be fired; the other, that he be publicly reprimanded for receiving gifts from subordinates. Ford, in accepting the findings of a report submitted to him from Levi and other department officials, exonerated Kelley, saying that he is satisfied with Kelley's promise to make reimbursement for the gifts. Ford reaffirmed his support for the FBI director in his "efforts to strengthen the FBI."

Visiting Denied

(New York, N.Y.) — Federal officials are still refusing to allow Lolita Lebron (a Puerto Rican political prisoner for over 20 years) to visit Andres Figueroa Cordero, another nationalist imprisoned in a federal jail, who has undergone a series of operations as a result of a bout with cancer, and is presently confined to a hospital. Andres requested the visit, with mutual friends of the two great heroes of the struggle for Puerto Rican liberation having informed Lebron that Cordero's life was in danger, *Claridad* reports. Prison officials declared that the denial was based on the fact that Lebron's case is "multi-faceted," that Cordero is not seriously ill, and that they are not blood relatives.

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POLICE STATE?

BREATHROUGH IN HAMPTON MURDER

THE VETERANS

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Attica Inmates End Week-Long Strike

(Attica, N.Y.) — In the aftermath of the recent six-day strike at Attica State Prison here, the atmosphere remains tense as inmates expressed dissatisfaction with the efforts of state prison officials to improve prison living conditions.

Attica inmate Wallace Wright commented, "The strike was a wasted effort. We've really gained nothing except for some trivial things.

"We are still underpaid," he said. "Our lives here are exactly the same as they were before the strike," he continued. "The problem with the strike was that our timing was all wrong. No one was really ready to listen to us," Wright added.

Throughout the strike, which at times had 95 per cent participation from Attica inmates, the protest was militant, yet peaceful, despite reports that guards were deliberately attempting to provoke incidents.



Attica inmates show unity during 1971 rebellion.

In the eyes of inmates, small concessions were granted during the strike, such as the relaxation of visiting room procedures, and the installation of more showers and telephones. After the conclusion of the strike, reports *The New York Times*, state Commissioner of Corrections Benjamin Ward announced that within two weeks, the inmate population at Attica would be reduced by 300. During the bloody 1971 revolt, in which 45 persons were murdered by New York state troopers, the inmate population was 1,900 as compared to over 2,000 now.

When informed of this new move, reports the *Times*, life term James DeVito could only say, "Big deal." □

WORK STRIKES HIT GREEN HAVEN, COMSTOCK PRISONS IN N.Y.

(Comstock, N.Y.) — Inmates at two more New York correctional facilities, Green Haven and Comstock state prisons, initiated work stoppages last week in a peaceful effort to further dramatize the plight of New York state prisons.

At Comstock, known as the Great Meadow Correctional Facility, prison authorities claim that the reason for the protest is a mystery to them, but an official report has labeled the prison "the most volatile among several potentially explosive institutions in the state.

FORTRESS

The report describes the turn-of-the-century, fortress-like facility as "the garbage heap of the state prison system."

Paul Metz, superintendent of the prison, admitted that serious overcrowding was a factor in at least one of three serious disturbances at Comstock between July 13, 1975, and May 17 of this year. He stated that the prison was designed to handle 1,150 inmates and could not provide "program or work assignments for 1,500 inmates."

Another problem brought out by the report is racism, which is rampant throughout the New York state prison system.

"...Racism and racist behavior at Comstock is especially acute," notes the report, "because most of the inmate population is non-White, the staff is almost exclusively White and the facility is located in a state in which minorities comprise 0.01 per cent of the population."

When the protest went into its third day, about 70 prisoners were transferred to relieve overcrowding with a goal of 300 to be transferred within a few days, claim prison officials. This has been called a deceptive action by leading prison observers, since the entire New York state prison



Inmate flashes victory sign (above) and (right) overcrowded prison conditions. Prisoners at three N.Y. state prisons went on strike recently to protest indecent living conditions and to achieve a restructuring of the state parole and sentencing systems.

system is severely overcrowded.

At Green Haven, prison officials have told the press the situation is back to normal after nearly all of the institution's 1,750 inmates participated in a work stoppage. At one point the prison's superintendent, Walter Fogg, said, "Everything is stopped except the kitchen and health services."

In a meeting with Fogg, 10 inmate leaders demanded better wages for inmates, improved health care and promises that the New York state legislature would consider restructuring the parole and sentencing.

Fogg admitted, according to *The New York Times*, "...I don't think this would have

happened without Attica (which struck last week)." Agenor Castro, the state corrections spokesman, said, "The issues at Green Haven dealing with the criminal justice system are the same issues... (which were) at Attica."

CODES COMMITTEE

It was announced last week that New York state assemblyman Stanley Fink, chairman of the codes committee, would meet with prisoners at Green Haven to hear their grievances. A lawyer representing the Inmate United Committee had said earlier that the Green Haven strike would end when legislators "give their commitment to come to Green Haven for a three-day series of conferences."

The lawyer called for open conferences "so the taxpayers will know what the real issues are affecting the criminal justice system and how these issues can be resolved."

Meanwhile, Benjamin Ward, state corrections commissioner, called for the abolishment of the state indeterminate sentencing system, which he cited as a primary cause for overcrowding. "Within the system," he said, "a majority of our inmates have no clear understanding of the length of their sentences. More than 95 per cent of the state's inmates have received indeterminate sentences." □

Prisoner Civil Rights Victory

(Sacramento, Calif.) — California inmates have won a major "prisoner civil rights" victory with a ruling by the California Supreme Court that they have a constitutional right to appear in person and to be represented by court-appointed lawyers to defend themselves against lawsuits.

Inmates have had the right to appear in court with court-appointed attorneys to represent them only in criminal matters, but generally have been denied similar rights in civil suits brought against them.

The decision was triggered by the case of inmate Torrey Wood Payne of Los Angeles who was sued and lost a \$24,000 default judgement when the California Department of Corrections refused to allow him to appear in court.

The Supreme Court overturned the decision on the grounds that Payne "was unconstitutionally deprived of his right to access to the courts..."

Oakland Mayor Attacks Elaine Brown

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

away"). Cobb went on to say:

"We in the Black community are concerned about businesses. We see that as a vital link for jobs. We want to make it (OCED) broadly representative.

"If the Black community can be used to make inroads, to run interference for the city to get access to the governor's office and then to be cut out of the crucial, decision-making committees... the days for that are over. You and I know that, Mr. Mayor.

"I am surprised, shocked and appalled that you would even move forward with such a gesture, without doing your homework and without being broadly inclusive."

As Cobb ended his presentation, arch-conservative Councilman Fred Maggiora, still recovering from a heart attack, stammered out the accusation that the Black leader was "talking through his hat." Maggiora failed to explain what he meant by his remark, but sat red-faced for the rest of the session.

DELAY VOTE

Following Cobb to the podium, Elaine Brown also asked the Council to delay its vote on the Grove-Shafter for one week, in order "to have an intelligent debate as to whether or not the OCED is really representative of the interests of the people of this city, in terms of our true economic development, as opposed to the economic development of a few business interests, which have developed all right before this.

"The crucial political issue here," Elaine said, "is that it was not until myself and Mr. Cobb—(at this point, Reading rudely cleared his throat six or seven times directly into his microphone)—Judge Lionel Wilson, John George and the Black veterans approached the governor of this state and identified that one of the reasons why the Grove-Shafter Freeway was significant was because it would produce jobs (did the topic of the OCED come before the Council).

"The governor has expressed, not only in general conversation, but also in a one-hour private conversation, that his interest is whether or not the business community will fulfill its commitment to Black and poor people of this city to provide jobs.

"Unless you consider this in a serious way, I am positive, and I don't believe I am speaking out of turn, that the governor will not be interested in moving this package back from 1981 to 19 anything.

Neither the Highway Commission, the Department of Transportation, nor the governor are as concerned about your business interests as they are about jobs for the people of this city.

"Our position is that this Council (OCED) is not representative of our goals and aims, that it doesn't guarantee economic development for the entire city. If it can't do that, then it's only serving business interests, and those business interests don't necessarily need to have a human package coming out of Sacramento that doesn't guarantee anything to the people of this city."

"Miss Brown, you're suggesting then that we appoint a member of the Black Panther Party to this committee?" Reading suddenly said in launching his attack.

"I would refuse to sit on any committee with you, Mr. Reading," Elaine flashed back.

"I'm just curious as to what you're looking for," Reading said.

"Your intention is to go to the governor and say, 'Kill the Grove-Shafter Freeway project,'" the mayor said, half in worry, half in arrogance.

"My intention is to identify all the problems of Oakland anyway I see fit," Elaine responded, "unless you are telling me that there is no longer freedom of speech."

A short time later, when Councilman George Vukasin

City Council

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Elaine Brown, Elijah Turner, a longtime activist in the Oakland Black Caucus, and Alameda County Superior Court Judge Lionel Wilson with bringing about this change.

The resolutions were also an abrupt aboutface from the events of the previous Tuesday, August 31, when the Council officially "recognized" OCED, despite several objections that it postpone its decision for one week. (See article, page 3.)

Addressing the Council on the topics of the OCED and the Grove-Shafter—and thus embracing the subject of unity in this sometimes bitterly divided city—were (in order): Sally Sprague, president of OCCUR; John Stansbury, chairman of OCCUR's Legislative Liaison Committee; Thomas Ma, chairman of OCCUR's Economic Development Committee; Elijah Turner; Paul Cobb; Rev. Athkins; Rev. Michael Dunn, president of the East



Oakland Black leaders (left to right) PAUL COBB, ELAINE BROWN, LIONEL WILSON and ELIJAH TURNER demanded a speed-up in the construction of the Grove-Shafter Freeway — leading to jobs and replacement housing — at a recent press conference.

asked the benign question as to whether or not it would cause any problems to delay the Council decision for a week, Reading snapped, "Are you suggesting that perhaps Elaine Brown be appointed to this?"

"HIS BABY"

According to sources at City Hall, Reading considers the City Center complex as "his baby." He is said to feel both personally frustrated by the delays in the essential Grove-Shafter construction link as well as personally threatened by the recent Black community successes, in acquiring state promises to move forward its completion date.

Also speaking on this issue at the Council session were: Lloyd Edwards, president of First Enterprise Bank and one of three

Black members of OCED; Ms. Anita Williams, representing the Niagara Democratic Club; and Ms. Tracison Brown, a member of the Community Development Advisory Commission.

Edwards, speaking in place of Robert Shetterly, president of the Clorox Corporation and chairman of OCED, supported the inclusion of more Black community participation. He said that, "It is my opinion that the Council (OCED) is structured so that the framework is flexible enough to have direct community participation, not only on the various Task Forces that will be working with the Council, but actually on the Council. I will personally go on record as a member of the Council to say that I vigorously endorse such a move." □



Oakland community leaders SALLY SPRAGUE, ELAINE BROWN and ELIJAH TURNER stressed the importance of minority participation in the OCED.

Oakland Clergy; Elaine Brown; and Broadus Parker, vice-president of the Black Veterans Association.

While the speakers all approached the subject from different angles, the main thrust of Black community recognition and involvement was similar throughout all the discussions. Plus, the fact that the completion of the Grove-Shafter means a potential

10,000 permanent jobs and replacement housing—coupled with "assurances" that Gov. Brown favors a commitment from the Oakland business community in this regard, a commitment that OCED has not as yet made—was not lost in the debate.

And, for once, despite Mayor Reading and the senile, tragicomic Maggiora, the City Council actually listened. □

NEW "BINARY WEAPONS"

Pentagon Ignores International Nerve Gas Ban

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A government scientist admitted here last week that the U.S. Army is purposely evading a ban against the manufacture of offensive chemical warfare agents through the creation of "binary weapons."

In November, 1969, then President Richard Nixon issued a declaration that pledged that America would never again use germ warfare, renouncing all but defensive development of chemical warfare agents. The ban exempted only tear gas and chemical defoliants, which were being extensively used at the time against American dissidents and the population of Vietnam, respectively.

Speaking at a symposium on binary weapons systems sponsored by the American Chemists Society, Dr. David N. Kramer, an Army biochemist, defended a relatively new chemical warfare system the military employs, whereby there are two chambers in a bomb or projectile, each containing a nontoxic ingredient. Once in flight, a membrane between the two chambers ruptures; the chemicals mix as the weapon spins, and by the time the bomb lands, the mixture has become a lethal poison capable of paralyzing or killing its victims.

When Kramer was asked directly whether or not this was an offensive chemical weapon, he replied, "Of course, a binary bomb is just a political fiction to evade the Nixon doctrine (ban) that we won't make toxic weapons."

Kramer was an unscheduled speaker at the special symposium. Most of the speakers at the session warned of new dangers if America pursues development of new chemical weapons systems and urged stronger international effort for chemical disarmament.

However, Kramer vigorously argued in favor of the use of offensive chemical warfare, using the common "Soviet threat" analysis to base his argument.

Kramer's arguments were strongly opposed by several scientists, including Dr. Robert Rutman, a professor of biochemistry at the University of Pennsylvania.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

U.S. WORLD'S LARGEST ARMS DEALER

Sold Or Gave Away Over \$86 Billion In Military Supplies Since 1950

(Philadelphia, Pa.) - According to a recent report published in *Recon*, a progressive monthly which focuses on the military scene, the U.S. is the world's largest supplier of military equipment to other countries.

There are three ways in which these arms have been channeled. The Military Assistance Program (MAP) involves grants (giving away) of military equipment. Foreign Military Sales (FMS) involves actual sales of the equipment with the price previously agreed upon by the buyer (foreign country) and the seller (the U.S. government). Lastly, there are Commercial Sales, whereby private U.S. corporations sell directly to foreign governments without U.S. government assistance.

Until 1964, the largest percentage of foreign arms transactions took place through MAP. But the Nixon Doctrine of 1969, requiring foreign countries to pay for their own defense, was a contributing factor of MAP's decline. Another factor was the 1973 Middle East war. Both the Arabs and the Israelis could afford to buy weapons and they wanted the best and newest, not MAP's old surplus equipment. In all, from 1950-1975, the U.S. gave away \$37.7 billion in aircraft, missiles, ships, artillery and combat vehicles.

In the 24-year period between 1950 and 1973, foreign arms sales through FMS averaged one billion dollars a year. However, in



Arsenal of U.S. military armaments. According to a recent report, the U.S. is the world's largest supplier of military equipment to repressive regimes.

the next two years foreign buyers purchased \$20.3 billion or an average of \$10 billion. The top three buyers in this market during the past two years have been Iran (\$6.5 billion), Saudi Arabia (\$3.9 billion) and Israel (\$3.3 billion) — almost equaling their orders for the previous 24 years.

Commercial sales account for a small portion of the total sales figure, amounting to only \$4.7 billion during the last 16 years. It is easier and more profitable for the private corporations to sell directly to the Pentagon. A private corporation would have to open offices and international sales departments in foreign countries, when the Pentagon already has the staff (5,000 workers in FMS alone) and the contacts to make such buying and selling easier.

Seen as another reason for the decline of MAP is a legal provision that gives Congress oversight of the arms giveaway. There is no congressional oversight over FMS.

PROFIT

Which industries profit most from FMS? Pentagon figures for the 25 years up to 1974 show aircraft took first place with 8,300 military planes sold for \$14.5 billion, and 92,000 missiles for \$4.4 billion. Since 1950 sales also included 26,628 combat vehicles, almost 7,000 artillery pieces, and 2,352 military ships.

Congress tried to regain some control over the arms exporters with the International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976. This bill, as passed by both the House and Senate in April, 1976, would have set an annual limit of \$9 billion on arms sales, opened the arms deals to public scrutiny, cut back the number of military personnel fronting for the manufacturers, and prohibited all transfer of weapons to countries that violate the human rights of their citizens. When this bill was being written, the White House, State Department and Pentagon all agreed with its wording, but at the last moment, the arms companies objected and President Gerald Ford vetoed the bill on May 7, 1976.

Projections for the future are that the U.S. will sell around \$110 billion in arms to other countries in the next ten years. The projections also call for electronics to rival aircraft for first place in sales by 1985.

One analyst has gone so far as to claim, "If you represent an American firm and want to sell military equipment abroad, the world is your market." □

Indians Protest Oklahoma Grand Jury Attacks

(San Francisco, Calif.) — The following press statement was issued on August 31 by the San Francisco Native American Solidarity Committee:

"In an attempt to diffuse the growing strength of Native American struggles for sovereignty and self-determination, the U.S. government is resorting to new tactics of harassment and intimidation. Specifically, the grand jury in Oklahoma City has subpoenaed at least twenty individuals for the month of August alone. The majority of these individuals are active members of the American Indian Movement.

"Despite claims by the government that operations like COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) have been discontinued, recent disclosures of FBI teletypes show that the FBI is continuing its attempts to discredit and destroy the efforts of Indian people to assert control over their lives and nations. The grand jury probes in Oklahoma are added examples of the U.S. government's harassment of Indian people.

"The American Indian Movement (AIM) chapter in Oklahoma has made a call to all people 'to join with us in our struggle against illegal government activities.' The FBI is making unrelenting efforts to discredit and imprison American Indians who have in any way been involved in exposing the illegal activities of the U.S. government."

For more information, please call or contact: Native American Solidarity Committee, Box 95381, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt

Shortly before his assassination, Malcolm X founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). Patterned after the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the OAAU was created to struggle for the liberation of Black Americans. In this week's excerpt from ...And Bid Him Sing, BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief David G. DuBois describes the first OAAU meeting held by a group of Black Americans living in Cairo, Egypt.

PART 45

It was now clear to me that Kamal saw himself in some kind of combat with me for leadership of the OAAU in Cairo, and had set things up for this initial advantage. He'd apparently even used Suliman to this end, by getting him to agree that he should lead the mosque. I wondered if Suliman realized what Kamal was doing. I guessed the others did, but I wasn't sure.

What Kamal didn't know was that he didn't have to work so hard at this effort. I wasn't about to fight him for leadership. If he wanted it so badly, well, he could have it. But I sure in hell was going to fight to see to it that the OAAU in Cairo became something more than a...prayer meeting.

"Malcolm visualizes the OAAU," I said, choosing my words carefully, "as a weapon in the fight for the liberation of our people: a weapon like a double-edged sword, he said to me once. Both edges cutting edges: one, self-defense; the other, Islam."

"A double-edged sword, he said, can only cut in one direction at a time. I think, therefore, it will be a mistake for us, from the beginning and among ourselves, to try to wield our sword in two directions at the same time."

"Talk that shit, brother!" Suliman said, sitting forward in his chair. On my right Ibrahim made a sound like assent, followed by "Yeah, man!" I pretended I hadn't heard.

"I'm here, at least for the time being, to help wield that sword in one of those directions —"

"Inshallah, you'll help wield it in both, one of these days," Suliman interjected.

"— so it seems to me we ought to make up our minds which

cutting edge we're using and when."

The puzzled, trapped and pained expression on Kamal's face and the embarrassing silence—the others in the room waiting for his reply—prompted me to add:

"It'll be difficult for us to settle on how we organize until we hear from Malcolm his plan for how units are to be set up. So maybe it'll be best for us to concentrate on some limited projects until we hear from Malcolm."

SIGN OF RELIEF

A sigh of relief seemed to go round the room. But Kamal still hadn't quite got himself together. He took up his attache case from the floor beside his chair, opened it and busied himself searching for something. Ibrahim was feeling in his shirt pocket for a cigarette. Hassan sat still, deep in the armchair, a look on his face somewhere between amusement and disgust. Suliman was still sitting forward in his chair, his bad leg straight out in front of him. He had one hand on the arm of the chair as if he were about to rise.

He said, "Look, I don't think it's right that we do anything, or make any decisions about anything, until we're all here...I mean Hank and Abdel Hamid. I



Drawing commemorating the founding of the OAU (Organization of African Unity), which was masterminded by the late Kwame Nkrumah. Pictures in drawing depict African heads of state at the time of the OAU's founding. The Organization of Afro-American Unity, founded by Malcolm X, was patterned after the OAU and dedicated to Black liberation in the U.S.

think we should adjourn this meeting and plan one next week...probably at Bob's place...because it's in the center of town...and make sure we're all there."

"Yeah. I think the brother's right," Ibrahim said, sitting forward on the sofa.

"Wait a minute," Kamal said, again that trapped look in his eyes. "We're here now. We can do something." He didn't know what to suggest. He glanced in my direction—for support? I sat perfectly still and said nothing. I dare not move, I thought, lest he interpret it as a move to rise. I'd done enough to upset his plans.

It was Suliman who rose first, Ibrahim immediately after him, stretching his long body as he did so. Hassan remained seated, watching Kamal, fighting those British manners he'd been raised

by in Guyana.

"I didn't adjourn the meeting yet, man—you cats sit down!" A note of desperation was in Kamal's voice and in the way he remained perched on the edge of his straight-backed chair, holding the open attache case on his lap. Ibrahim was at the extremity of his stretch. He held it, looking at Kamal, amusement playing at the corners of his mouth.

WHITE FOLKS' SHIT

"Man, come down off that White folks' shit," Suliman said, not amused. He was already moving out of the room. "Ain't nobody objectin'. That means we all agreed. This ain't no fuckin' parliament."

He kept going, out of the room. At this, Hassan made a move to rise, aided in winning the battle. Ibrahim finished his stretch, smiling to himself, and I got up. As I did so I said, "I'd suggest next Friday evening, at about seven. I'll get in touch with Hank and make sure he's there. You guys'll have to get in touch with Abdel Hamid."

"Crazy, man," Ibrahim said. He was also moving out of the room. "I gotta take a shit. 'Scuse me." He headed for the long hall that Suliman had already disappeared into.

"I got to get back to the hostel. Got some studying to do," Hassan said, as he moved slowly into the entrance hall. I followed him. I didn't know Hassan well and now wanted to know him better. It was those British manners again: since I hadn't made a move toward him, he hadn't made one toward me.

"I'll go down with you," I said. Kamal was still sitting in the large room. He was fumbling in his attache case, apparently still looking for something.

TO BE CONTINUED



...AND BID HIM SING

An exciting novel of Black Americans living in Egypt in the 1960s

David G. Du Bois' first novel makes a new space on the slim shelf labelled Black expatriate fiction. This frighteningly accurate characterization of Ugly Afro-Americans in Africa is a sobering reminder of the special cultural baggage and blinders we carry home. In this case home is Cairo, Egypt. In And Bid Him Sing, David Du Bois has given us a picture of our societies through the eyes of another Black culture and understanding.

"Those of us who are planning to visit or live in Africa should see And Bid Him Sing as a kind of guide to bad manners abroad. And we who are ready to nostalgize the sixties would do well to read and recognize some parts of all of ourselves who grew so quickly and changed our race before we could change our minds."

Francille Rusan Wilson
The Black Scholar

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REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton
"Aftermath"

Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton describes his first meeting with people's lawyer Charles Garry in this excerpt from "Aftermath" in Revolutionary Suicide. Huey also describes his thoughts, while he was chained to a hospital bed, on the accomplishments of the Black Panther Party and on Black history in general.

PART 66

During World War II Garry had insisted on serving as a combat infantryman, although he was an obvious candidate for a commission in the Judge Advocate's Corps. He made this choice because of his strong opposition to fascism; he wanted to be totally involved in helping defeat it. Charles Garry was obviously an extraordinary man.

The same day that Beverly came to see me, John George, a Black attorney who had previously handled a number of cases for me, arrived at the hospital. The police barred him from my room. It was typical of their racism: a White lawyer could demand to see me and get in, but a Black lawyer was chased away. Regardless of position or education, color was all that mattered.

Soon after, however, John did manage to get in and brought Beverly with him. He felt, as she did, that an explosive case like mine required someone with more experience than he had, someone with a large office staff and the necessary investigative and research facilities.

In between these visits, the police talked loudly about Beverly and John. They hated Beverly Axelrod passionately because she had gotten Eldridge out of the penitentiary; the fact that she was White only made her more culpable, I think. They viciously ridiculed her and mocked John George, making fun of his physical characteristics. All through this, I lay shackled to the bed, half-drugged and in pain, while they swaggered about with their guns, waiting for visitors to leave the room, then threatening to kill me.

PEOPLE VISITED

Other people visited. I remember nothing distinctly about the first week or so, but I know that my family came regularly, and I remember seeing my brothers and sisters in the room from time to time. My mother was terribly upset by the whole experience and could not bring herself to come to the hospital.

It was almost impossible for people who were not relatives or lawyers to get in to see me. Yet, waking up one day, I became aware of a complete stranger in my room, a Black man—neither a lawyer nor a relative. He was probably a police agent trying to lure me into a damaging statement, but he went about his task in such a clumsy, transparent way that he got nowhere. I knew he could not have entered the room without an assignment to investigate the case for the police, so I let him do the talking.

Finally Charles Garry came to visit me. Before Beverly mentioned his name, I had never



HUEY P. NEWTON is defended by people's lawyer CHARLES GARRY in 1971 case which stemmed from an October 28, 1967, police attack. Garry has had a long and distinguished history of defending the politically persecuted.

heard of him, but my respect and trust for her transferred to him. The Party and my family had decided to put the whole matter into his hands, from a legal point of view. I was only half-conscious, and Garry showed deep concern for my pain. That first day we did not discuss strategy. Garry said simply that he admired my stand and would be proud to represent me. I returned the compliment.

As I lay recovering from my wounds, I tried to assess my position, to think of the immediate emergency and also its larger meaning and significance. No doubt about it, I was in serious trouble. I was fully under the control of my oppressors, and I was charged with a major crime that could carry the death penalty.

EXPECTED TO DIE

As a matter of fact, I expected to die. At no time before the trial did I expect to escape with my life. Yet being executed in the gas chamber did not necessarily mean defeat. It could be one more step to bring the community to a higher level of consciousness. I was not trying to be heroic, but I had been preparing myself for death over a long period of time.

When the Party was first organized, I did not think I would live for more than one year after we began; I thought we would be blasted off the streets. But I had hoped for that one year to launch the Party, and any additional time was just a bonus. When I landed in Highland Hospital, I was already living on borrowed time.

More had been accomplished in one year than Bobby and I had dreamed of when we drew up our ten-point program in the North Oakland Service Center. Despite my legal predicament and the prospect of death, I was not discouraged or unhappy. There would be time to make a few more political statements and to

make my ordeal a part of Black consciousness.

This was important. For more than 350 years Black men in this country have been dying with courage and dignity for the causes they believe in. This aspect of our history has always been known to Black people, but for many the knowledge has been vague. We knew the names of a few of our martyrs and heroes, but often we were not acquainted with the circumstances or the precise context of their lives.

White America has seen to it that Black history has been suppressed in schools and in American history books. The bravery of hundreds of our ancestors who took part in slave rebellions has been lost in the mists of time, since plantation owners did their best to prevent any written accounts of uprisings. Millions of Black schoolchildren never learned about two great Black heroes in the nineteenth century, Denmark Vesey and Nat "The Prophet" Turner, who died for freedom.

WHITE PEOPLE

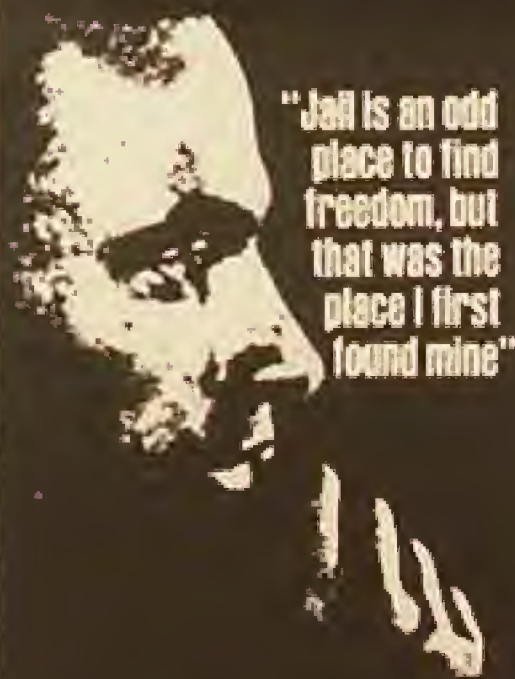
White people had good reason to destroy our history. Black men and women who refuse to live under oppression are dangerous to White society because they become symbols of hope to their brothers and sisters, inspiring them to follow their example.

In our time, Malcolm X is the supreme example. His life and accomplishments galvanized a generation of young Black people; he helped us take a great stride forward with a new sense of ourselves and our destiny. But meaningful as his life was, his death had great significance, too.

A new militant spirit was born when Malcolm died. It was born of outrage and a unified Black consciousness, out of the sense of a task left undone.

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



Huey P. Newton

With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story. Here is the dynamic account of the making of a revolutionary. Boyhood amid a deeply religious and loving family. Adolescence as thief, hustler, ghetto-survivor. Murder trial for the death of a policeman—a cause celebre that inspired the militant cry. Free Huey. Conviction. Imprisonment. And final exoneration. Huey P. Newton's autobiography—in a most moving sense—is a testament to the black American's pain and dilemma in the 1970s. —Publishers Weekly

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

To purchase this book, send \$8.95 (hard-bound) or \$1.95 (paper-back) in cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available by Huey P. Newton: To Die For The People, \$1.95.

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'SEXPLOITATION IN HIGH PLACES'

KISSINGER LINKED TO CRIME CZAR

President John F. Kennedy, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and other notables were the subject of, as yet unreported, organized crime and American intelligence sexual blackmail operations, according to a top-secret report compiled by prize-winning independent investigators.

THE BLACK PANTHER has learned that the explosive research project centers on six major figures:

- John F. Kennedy: A shadowy CIA officer's successful sexual blackmail attempt to force the slain President's mother, Rose Kennedy, into cooperating in the cover-up of the events of November 22, 1963, in Dallas.

- Henry A. Kissinger: Syndicate boss Meyer Lansky's attempt to compromise the secretary of state with a film star. The scenario staged by Lansky's heir-apparent, Sidney Korshack, legal mouthpiece and now manipulator of all organized vice.

- Martin Luther King, Jr.: The plan by the FBI to "neutralize" Dr. King by filming a bogus pornographic scene using an actor to be represented as the murdered civil rights leader.

- Spiro Agnew: The sexual compromise of the Vice-President managed by a show business luminary with ties to both the CIA and organized crime.

- Bobby G. Seale: The FBI plan to pit the former Black Panther chairman against another Panther by compromising Mr. Seale's wife.



Slain U.S. President JOHN F. KENNEDY at 1961 inaugural address. Kennedy was victim of a CIA sexual blackmail attempt.

- Charles "Bebe" Rebozo: The leak, by the CIA, of a venereal disease/homosexual dossier of President Nixon's former confidante.

The independent investigation focuses on West Coast intelligence and crime "sexpionage" activities, according to a source close to the "Kissinger task force" who has given THE BLACK PANTHER the names of one team of authors of the report: prize-winning investigative journalists Fernando Faura; Donald Freed of the Washington, D.C.-based Citizens Commission of Inquiry; Jeff Cohen of Boston's



Underworld figure BEBE REBOZO (left) takes ride with close friend, RICHARD NIXON.

Assassination Information Bureau; and a San Francisco freelance researcher writer, Michael Castleman. According to the source, the material is being compiled for a book, still untitled.

THE BLACK PANTHER has secured excerpts of the Lansky-Korshack-Kissinger section of the report that predate *The New York Times* series on Sidney Korshack, the new crime kingpin, by Seymour Hersh with Jeff Gerth.

The Kissinger compromise is the most closely guarded material, but a West Coast researcher informs THE BLACK PANTHER that many of the same sources used by *The New York Times* are behind the new untitled book. These sources include former agents of the FBI, the DEA, the CIA, and the Los Angeles Police Department's Criminal Conspiracy Section.

The stage for the Kissinger set-up was the posh Beverly Hills club, Le Bistro. An important investor in Le Bistro is Sidney Korshack, who has been called the brains of organized crime and crime unions. According to researchers, it is Korshack who, there, arranged a meeting between the secretary of state and movie star Jill St. John. Ms. St. John has long been close to Korshack and his Associated Booking Corporation, one of many fronts used by the master crime lawyer.

(The report documents that both Korshack and Ms. St. John were indicted in 1969 along with a former partner of Bobby Baker, Cuban crime operative Edward Torres, in a federal action involving a \$13.2 million SEC fraud case.)

Kissinger was introduced to a table, in a private room for VIPs at Le Bistro, by Korshack. The party included Ms. St. John, and labor leaders Herman "Blackie" Leavitt and Edward T. "Ed" Hanley, powers in the Hotel and Restaurant and Bartenders' International Union (who are now facing indictment for conspiracy and pension fund looting along with their Teamster mentors).

The LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section

(CCS) was, during this period, monitoring telephonic communication between Korshack in Beverly Hills and Palm Springs and Meyer Lansky in Israel where the aging vice lord was desperately fighting expulsion. According to CCS sources, the telephone contacts were routed through a conference line in a mob-owned Miami hotel. In taped conversations Lansky and Korshack laid out the operation to "make the doctor their man" (the code name for Kissinger, used first by Lansky, was the "doctor").

The plan was to play on Kissinger's well-known sexual vanity; to involve him with a beautiful woman; then to recruit the secretary of state into their scheme to use his vast influence to secure Israeli citizenship for the fugitive Lansky as a secret element in Kissinger's agenda for Mideast negotiations. According to the highly guarded independent investigative report, the final message from Israel to Beverly Hills was, "The patient is



Gangster chief MEYER LANSKY (left) and State HENRY KISSINGER. Lansky attempted hatch a sex

very ill. Find a doctor immediately."

The Kissinger set-up seems to have misfired as Lansky was forced to return to the United States (though the arch-criminal was never jailed), while the secretary enjoyed a well-publicized friendship with Ms. St. John. In Chicago in the 1950s, Korshack had used exactly the same methods to stop Senator Kefauver from any further crime exposure.

The official story of the friendship, of which Kissinger was one of the authors, was that the secretary had been introduced to the movie star by a mutual friend, Frank Sinatra.

Much of the new material in the secret report centers on the relationship of Sinatra to both the Central Intelligence Agency and organized crime. As in the Kissinger affair, the



The FBI planned to "assassinate" the character of slain civil rights leader MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., with a bogus pornographic scene using an actor portraying the great Black minister.



(photo) actress JILL ST. JOHN and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger with St. John in order to blackmail plot.

name of Sinatra as a go-between or "beard" will surface in both the Kennedy and Agnew sections of the manuscript. And the names of Sinatra, Lansky, Korshack, Giancana, Roselli, Annenberg, Dorfman (Jack Ruby's boss), to name a few, appear again and again.

Material on President Kennedy that does not involve Sinatra stresses a particularly cruel coercion of the Kennedy matriarch, Rose.

The authors of the report are preparing documentation that links: 1) the notorious (and mentally ill) CIA clandestine executive Cord Meyer, Jr.; and 2) James Jesus Angleton (the legendary "mother" of CIA covert operations), head of Agency counterintelligence, to the cover-up of the JFK assassination.

After Meyer's wife, who had had an affair

with the President, was murdered, Angleton and Meyer came into possession of Mrs. Meyer's love letters from JFK. Angleton then informed influential Washingtonians that he had "destroyed" the damaging evidence. However, it has now been learned that Angleton had been in charge of the CIA's investigation of the President's murder and continued his role as action officer on the case through the Clay Shaw trial in New Orleans, and down to his sudden "retirement" in 1975.

During this period, according to the new report, Angleton threatened the President's mother and other members of the Kennedy circle with exposure of the compromising love correspondence as well as other "political" documents having to do with Cuba unless they held firm against any reopening of the assassination investigation.

The elder Mrs. Kennedy, Washington sources report, has been almost hysterical in her appeal to elected representatives to stay away from any fresh inquiry into the events of Dallas, 1963.

HOMOSEXUAL BLACKMAIL

THE BLACK PANTHER has been unable to see any documentation of the Rebozo homosexual-V.D.-CIA blackmail operation alleged to be a part of the new book. But a former aide of Governor Rockefeller of Arkansas confirms a bizarre FBI pornographic plot against the Reverend King in the 1960s.

According to the governor's aide, the "script" was shown by the FBI to a member of the governor's staff (a sometime CIA contract employee). The scenario to "destroy" Dr. King included a fraudulent piece of film that would appear dark and grainy as if shot by a hidden camera in an unlit motel room. Just as the CIA had Robert Maheu prepare such a film with an actor impersonating Indonesian President Sukarno, so, the Arkansas informant states, the FBI was developing a similar plan in order to "assassinate Dr. King's character."

Finally, the authors of the report have evidence that will be made a part of the

multimillion dollar Black Panther civil action to be filed soon in Washington, that the FBI attempted to provoke the murder of Black Panther leader Bobby Seale in a confrontation by forging evidence linking Mrs. Seale with another Panther, Fred Bennett. The plan backfired, according to sources close to the Panthers, and Bennett was himself murdered by two FBI agents-provocateurs, one Black and one White, whose names will be released after the filing of the lawsuit.

A source close to the investigation calls the research "the most sophisticated and far-ranging independent effort" since the Penta-



gon Papers case. A rash of threats and burglaries has not disrupted the ongoing inquiry, according to a West Coast researcher, but THE BLACK PANTHER has contacted Donald Freed. (Like Mark Lane, George O'Toole, Richard Barnet, Robert Borosage, Morton Halperin, John Marks, Marcus Raskin, L. Fletcher Prouty, and others, Freed is on the Executive Committee of the Citizens Commission of Inquiry in Washington, D.C.)

Freed refused to confirm or deny any involvement in the project, but stated, "If somebody has this on Kissinger then he will fall. And it explains Kissinger's secret meetings, recently, with Korshack and his pal Lew Wasserman, head of MCA." □

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor

people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Intercommunal News

DOWNTOWN SHOPPERS SHOT AND TEAR GASED

POLICE ATTACK COLOREDS AND WHITES IN BLOODY CAPETOWN DEMONSTRATION

(Capetown, South Africa) — For the first time in the nearly three months of intensive Black political protests in South Africa, Whites had a taste of the violence last week when 3,000 Colored students clashed with police in a bloody battle in the downtown area of this city. White shoppers fled in terror from club-wielding police who used tear gas to disperse the peaceful demonstration.

At least three people died and hundreds were wounded in the two days of violence which erupted on Thursday, September 2. The previous day police had allowed the Colored (those of mixed racial heritage) students to march through Capetown streets undisturbed during their protest of apartheid policies.

The majority of the country's estimated 2.3 million Colored people live in this southern coastal city, and the Colored students, in particular, have become increasingly vocal in recent weeks in support of the largely Black student-led protests that have spread throughout South Africa since the initial Soweto uprising outside Johannesburg on June 16.

Terrified White eyewitnesses said that trouble began when police suddenly attacked the peaceful demonstration, clubbed



Over 3,000 Colored students stunned South African Whites with strong resistance to brutal police repression in downtown Capetown during anti-apartheid protest.

and arrested many of the Colored students and began firing off tear gas grenades indiscriminately. The witnesses said that soon after the police began to wildly fire their guns, pools of blood drenched the sidewalks. According to one White bystander, "Police threw tear gas at any groups of people they saw."

In the confusion that followed, White shoppers, choking on the tear gas, were knocked to the ground and trampled. Two New Zealand rugby stars — currently touring South Africa in defiance of protests by Black African countries — were signing autographs at a downtown shop when the incident broke out. Both were overcome by the tear gas.

Residents of the ghetto areas outside Capetown soon learned of the police attack, and heavy fighting was reported there between police and stone-throwing Coloreds and Blacks. Police admitted to killing one man and said they wounded another.

It was just two weeks ago that several hundred Colored students at the University of the Western Cape, in solidarity with Black students, carried out demonstrations in their own "townships." During five days of Black protests in the city, 29 people were killed.

On Friday, September 3, police fired volleys of tear gas grenades and birdshot to disperse the Colored demonstrators who continued their protest despite the violence of the previous day. Hundreds of persons were wounded and at least one youth was killed.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26



Young Black woman is bloody victim of South African police.

U.N. Report Condemns Sharpeville Massacre

Following, *THE BLACK PANTHER* presents the conclusion of a special report on the March 21, 1960, Sharpeville Massacre written by David Sibeko, director of Foreign Affairs for the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) and its representative at the United Nations. Published at the request of the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid, this report gains a timely importance in view of the recent upsurge of Black political protest — and White repression — throughout South Africa.

CONCLUSION

In a brilliant article which tears away the double talk which he calls South Africa's "new-speak," a *Washington Post* correspondent says South African foreign policy: "stripped of diplomatic phrasing...rests on the notion that poor Black neighboring states can be bought off; give them enough aid and they won't harbor the guerrillas that could threaten the system."

On the other side of the blackmail coin is an even grimmer picture, crystallized by the introduction of the new Defense Amendment Bill which declares as a "legitimate target" any African country, south of the Sahara, judged by the apartheid regime to be posing a threat to South Africa. The aggression against the People's Republic of

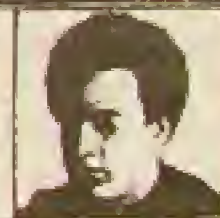
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THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

B54



As a bonus to readers who renew their subscription to *THE BLACK PANTHER*, for a limited time only we're offering FREE a copy of the Fall '74 issue of the *CoEVOLUTION QUARTERLY*, guest edited by the Black Panther Party.

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INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

NETO: "OUR STRENGTH RESIDES IN THE PEOPLE"

The following interview with Agostinho Neto, president of the People's Republic of Angola and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), was conducted in mid-July by Afrique-Asie, a French biweekly.

PART 1

Q: The trial of the 13 mercenaries captured by the armed forces of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA) has aroused great interest internationally, as evidenced by the presence of a crowd of journalists and a commission charged with working out a judicial text regarding mercenaries. What is, for the PRA and for Africa, the purpose of such a trial and what will be the repercussions on the international level?

NETO: The goal of the trial that took place here in Luanda for one week was to present before the eyes of Africa and the entire world the problem of mercenary warfare. The countries of Africa, and many others, are convinced that mercenaries should not exist. It is not acceptable that for money, men can be recruited to go fight against peoples and attack established states in the name of interests that are outside those of their own countries. As for the trial, we wanted it to be completely guaranteed. That it respected all the juridical rules in effect was proven by the sentence that was returned.

SOVEREIGN COUNTRIES

All sovereign countries that have had to face similar problems know that any mercenary already condemned *de facto*, must be condemned *de jure*. The individuals we took as prisoners are merely objects, instruments of the system. Those who have violated our territory and our sovereignty are no more than agents of an idea which probably is not their own, but which has been instilled by imperialism, by racist regimes. For us it is the last attempt of a social class that bitterly defends capitalism.

The mercenaries, in effect, are nothing but the arms of groups completely dependent on imperialism: the Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC), as well as all the Portuguese reactionaries that still have interests in Angola. And they have continued their activities even after the establishment of the PRA.



Angolan people hold high a poster of their leader, AGOSTINHO NETO.

The whole world must understand that we are dealing with an attempt to impose upon us a regime that would serve not the interests of the Angolan people, but those of other countries, who are capitalist and favor neo-colonialism. Their defeat led them to hire mercenaries, to try once more to check the normal development of the revolutionary process. This trial is the first of its kind in the world. And it follows the series of victories of the Angolan people over the Portuguese, over the intervention of Zairean forces, and over the South African soldiers who, for the first time, were defeated.

We believe that the conclusions that were drawn from this trial are useful not only for the Angolans, but for the peoples of the entire world. And we hope that the international committee will adopt the resolutions that we have approved.

Q: It seems that today one can see a regrowth of acts of aggression against the PRA, in particular in the north and in

south central Angola, by neighboring countries, that is Zaire, Zambia, and South Africa. What is the extent of these actions and what is the PRA's reaction to these new attempts?

NETO: The counterrevolution does not rest. Imperialism does not rest. Because of this, we again have serious problems to solve.

We know that on our northern frontier, that of Cabinda, there are bases in Zairean territory from which attacks on Angolan territory are being made. These bases are important. And, to attack Cabinda, men infiltrate through the Congo, where they have caused the deaths of dozens of Congolese citizens by putting land mines along the roads. One of these bases, a very important one, is located beyond the frontier of our province of Zaire (an Angolan province whose frontier with Congo-Kinshasha is marked by the river Zaire.) Tons of supplies are unloaded there. That base is situated in the city of

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AFRICA
IN
FOCUS

Namibia

A White South African soldier said last week that he witnessed widescale torture and killing of Black people during South African Army operations to remove the Namibian population from the border that separates Namibia and Angola. In an interview with the *Guardian*, the soldier, Bill Anderson, 21, said that he saw men tortured with water until they drowned, beatings of blindfolded and handcuffed young boys and repeated burnings of prisoners with cigarette butts. Anderson said that officers encouraged enlisted men to participate in the brutality and that some officers bragged of using electric shock torture on the genitals, ears and nipples of the Black prisoners, who also included women and children.

Rhodesia

Eight officials of the African National Council (ANC), Rhodesia's reactionary "umbrella" Black nationalist organization, last week were convicted by the Salisbury High Court of charges of sabotage and urban guerrilla warfare and sentenced to hang to death. Rhodesian police officials said that the eight condemned men, ranging in age from 19 to 30, are ANC committee members, not trained guerrillas, of the ANC faction headed by the discredited Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

United Nations

The African Group of the United Nations has strongly praised recent events in the liberation struggle of Black (African) South Africans. Henri Rasolondraibe, charge d'affaires of Madagascar's permanent mission to the U.N., who also serves as chairman of the African Group, said at a press conference that members of the African Group, while deploring the South African government's murder of thousands of Africans, believes "that the new uprisings are indicative of the... new political consciousness which is being infused in the people of South Africa."

South African-Israeli Arms Deal Revealed

(Jerusalem, Israel) - Israel and South Africa, increasingly isolated from the rest of the world because of their repressive policies against Palestinian and Black people respectively, have significantly stepped up their commercial and military ties in recent months, *The New York Times* reports.

South African "Prime Minister" John Vorster visited Israel in April of this year and made a number of commercial and military agreements with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Neither government is willing to divulge details of their arms dealings, but the *Times* has learned that: (1) Israel is building two long-range gunboats armed with sea-to-sea missiles for the South African Navy; (2) Fifty South African naval personnel, on temporary civilian status, are training in the Tel Aviv (Israel) area to man the missile boats; (3) The sales agreements include Israel's delivery of up to two dozen Kfir jet planes; and (4) In exchange for South African raw materials, the Zionist Israeli government would provide its ally with advanced military electronic equipment.



Delegates at recent Namibian "constitutional" conference.

NAMIBIA

African U.N. Members Demand Sanctions Against South Africa

(United Nations, N.Y.) — The African Group of United Nations members last week called on the Security Council to impose economic and other sanctions against South Africa for refusing to end its illegal rule of Namibia (South West Africa).

Speaking on behalf of the African nations, Henri Rasolondraibe of Madagascar told the Security Council that a sham proposal announced on August 18 by a government-dominated "constitutional" conference in Windhoek, South West Africa, had failed to meet any of the Council's demands on Namibia.

Last January 30, the Council adopted a resolution requiring that by August 31, South Africa commit itself to: immediate Black majority rule; free elections under U.N. control; the release of political prisoners; and the return home of political exiles. The August 18 proposal set December 31, 1978, as the date for independence and ignored the other Security Council demands.

Rasolondraibe insisted that sanctions should be imposed against South Africa not only for its failure to agree to majority rule in Namibia but also because of the racist regime's support of the White minority government in Rhodesia as well as for its own hated apartheid system.

"We cannot find a solution for one or the other of these problems — Namibia or Rhodesia — without destroying the centerpiece (South Africa)," the Madagascar diplomat declared.

Rasolondraibe continued to say that South Africa is waging a war against the Black population of

TANZANIA PLANS PEOPLE-CENTERED CITY TO BE NEW CAPITAL

Progressive City Of Dodoma To Be Built In Central Highlands

(Dodoma, Tanzania) — Here in the central highlands of Tanzania, a country where self-reliance is the national theme and democratic socialism the goal, plans are being laid to build what could be Africa's — if not the world's — most innovative city.

If all goes according to plan, Tanzania by 1990 will sport a true "people's capital" — a city of 350,000 where small communities of 7,000 lie tucked amidst neighborhood parks, farmlands and wildlife reserves; where each family, living among a small cluster of 10 homes, has its own garden plot; and where an extensive public bus system shuttles people wherever they cannot go by foot or bicycle.

The city, called Dodoma, lies in a temperate climate almost a mile above sea level. Unlike the hot and muggy current capital of Dar es Salaam — a teeming old Arab port far removed from Tanzania's largely rural population — Do-



Tanzanian mountain village. By 1990 a "people's capital" will be built in the Tanzanian highlands.

doma will be built with both rural African lifestyles and Tanzania's "people's democracy" in mind, Roger Mann of *Pacific News Service* reports.

No longer will villagers and local political leaders face a foreign maze of streets, confusing bus routes and fast-paced urban

sprawl when they visit their capital.

In this sense Dodoma will fit right into the Tanzanian development model, which stresses self-reliance on the village level. Throughout the country, families are expected to cultivate their own kitchen gardens, locally made ox-drawn plows are preferred to costly imported tractors and village industries using labor-intensive technology are emphasized.

Even President Julius Nyerere and other government officials spend a month or more each year in their home districts cultivating their plots with hoes and draught animals. And in the most interesting experiment of all, Tanzanians are moving into cooperative self-help villages known as "Ujamaa," intended to be the backbone of this poor agricultural nation's socialist program.

MASTER PLAN

Clement George Kahama, the director of the Capital Development Authority, the agency building Dodoma, says the basic principle of his master plan is complete integration of man-made structures with the land on which they stand. "Agriculture will always be an integral part of the capital's life," he promises.

Though some government offices have already moved to Dodoma, the real building has yet to begin. The main government buildings — to be visible from almost every part of the city — will be situated on a sloping ridge that gives a commanding view of the city and the surrounding countryside.

Besides the president's office and the headquarters of TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), Tanzania's ruling and democratically run party, the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26



Injured Black youth is carried away after London uprising in which police used "overkill" tactics.

London Blacks Charge Scotland Yard "Overkill" In Carnival Riot

(London, England) — Leaders of the West Indian community of Notting Hill have blamed the "overkill" tactics of Scotland Yard (London's police department) for provoking the violent confrontation between Black youth and White policemen here on August 30, *The New York Times* reports.

The incident, which police officials said resulted in the injury of 272 police officers and 131 residents, occurred near the end of a two-day Caribbean calypso carnival. Notting Hill community leaders charge that Scotland Yard head Sir Robert Mark flooded the festival — an annual Notting Hill

event — with 1,600 police officers who "overreacted massively" when a woman screamed that a youth had stolen her purse.

The police immediately moved in and grabbed a Black youth suspected of the robbery. When a group of 10 to 12 young West Indians rushed to the aid of the suspected thief, the police began to viciously beat them with large billy clubs. The angry youths defended themselves by throwing bricks and bottles at the White policemen. At least 70 people were arrested, most of them between the ages of 14 and 19.

There was also widespread

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

African U.N. Members Demand Sanctions

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Namibia and is using the colony as a base for aggression against neighboring countries — a reference to renewed South African attacks in southern Angola where fighting forces of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) are located. SWAPO is recognized by the U.N. and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as the sole representative of the Namibian people.

TELEGRAM

Rasolondraibe then read a telegram from SWAPO President Sam Nujoma asking the Security Council to postpone its debate on Namibia until September 21 when the General Assembly will open. The SWAPO leader said that this would allow foreign ministers from all the major African countries to join in the deliberations concerning what action to take against South Africa. The Security Council agreed to Nujoma's request.

In the introduction of his annual report to the General Assembly, U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim warned that the potential for major disaster in southern Africa is growing daily. He called for the quick implementation of U.N. resolutions on Namibia, Rhodesia and apartheid.

Attacking the apartheid system, Waldheim said that the recent upsurge of Black political



SWAPO guerrillas, led by SAM NUJOMA.

protest throughout South Africa and the thousands of deaths that have resulted "again dramatically demonstrate that apartheid is a policy which inevitably leads to violence. As long as it is practiced it will be resisted by those whose basic human rights are denied," he said.

Meanwhile, a White church leader in Namibia said that the South African regime often uses torture and detention without

trial against the Black population. The charge was made by Dr. Lucas De Vries, president of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of South West Africa, who was in Bonn, West Germany, as the head of a delegation of Lutheran officials visiting the country. Dr. De Vries said that he has personal knowledge of incidents in which South African police and armed forces tortured Black political prisoners. □

WORLD SCOPE



Korea

The United Nations Command and North Korea last week agreed to separate their troops in the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) village of Panmunjom. South Korean military sources reported. The agreement was made in the aftermath of an August 18 incident in which a North Korean patrol killed two American soldiers guarding a South Korean work detail illegally trimming a tree in North Korean territory. The two Korean governments have agreed to put up signs along the DMZ to reduce the possibility of troops accidentally crossing the border between the two countries.

Vietnam

The newly reunified government of Vietnam last week called on the U.S. to approve its application for membership in the United Nations which will be considered this week by the Security Council. Dinh Ba Thi, permanent observer of the Hanoi government at the U.N., said that his country's admission to the world body would help to reduce tensions between America and Vietnam over the unsettled issues of Americans missing in action and of U.S. aid in the postwar reconstruction of Vietnam.

Taiwan

U.S. intelligence reports have revealed that Taiwan (Nationalist China) has secretly been reprocessing used uranium fuel, an operation that can produce atomic weapons material. Evidence that the Taiwan government is making atomic bomb material was divulged last week by officials of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the Energy Research and Development Administration. The U.S. is Taiwan's major source of nuclear power reactors and enriched uranium fuel.

Mexico

Mexican President Luis Echeverria last week accused the U.S. with flagrant violations of the human rights of the five to 11 million Mexicans living in the U.S. as illegal aliens. His charges coincided with a government announcement that the Mexican Foreign Ministry will investigate the death of a Mexican migrant worker who was beaten to death at a Texas border point before being deported from the U.S.



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ENTERTAINMENT



Friends

*I will be only a friend in need
Because you don't need a friend
in deed*

*Only in need do you claim a need
For a selfless friend in deed
Not to be a true friend in deed
Selfish you*

*You fail to see your friend has
needs*

*Yet does not have a friend in deed
Because his need for a friend in
deed*

*Does not mesh 'til you have a
need*

*You then become his friend in
need*

But never his friend in deed.

—Sherman Brewster
Oakland, Calif.

For Friends

*How do you write a poem
about someone
Who is beyond all words?*

*Always there
When you need them*

*Listening to you
After you're tired
of talking to yourself*

*Comforting and helping you
Over all else*

*What can you say
about the person whose smile
makes it all worthwhile!
Living, loving, struggling*

*How do you give thanks
For their very existence?!!
For the pleasure of knowing them
Touching them
Needing them*

*How can you write a poem
about love?
When love itself is beyond all
words. . . .*

*Dedicated to comrades
worldwide
(with special regards to all the
Beautiful Panthers)*

—Gerald Goodman



The 1,200 mile Tan-Zam railway is proudly called the "Great Freedom Railroad" by the people of Tanzania and Zambia.

"FREEDOM RAILROAD" REVIEWED

TAN-ZAM RAILWAY: TRIUMPH OF
THIRD WORLD UNITY

The people of Tanzania and Zambia proudly call it the "Great Freedom Railroad." Officially opened on July 14, the 1,200 mile-long Tan-Zam railway stretches from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to the northern Zambian city of Kapiri Mposhi. A new, Felix Greene-produced film made while the railroad was being built, well captures the beautiful spirit of fraternity between the peoples of Tanzania, Zambia and the People's Republic of China — whose generous technical and financial aid made the railroad possible.

Central to the international policy of the Chinese is the belief that the poorer nations of the world must unite against Western imperialism. In keeping with this

conviction, in 1967 the People's China granted Tanzania and Zambia interest-free loans — payable in the year 2,013 — to build the railroad. (The U.S. and other Western powers refused to help the two African countries.)

Both Tanzania and Zambia badly needed the railroad — Tanzania so its vast underdeveloped areas could be opened up, and Zambia so that it might have a route to the sea to transport its abundant copper.

The documentary film, which is in color, makes some important points. First, the 14,000 Chinese engineers and technicians sent to Tanzania and Zambia worked side by side with their African comrades to teach them the skills needed in building a railroad.

To insure that the Tanzanians and Zambians would continue to develop railroad engineering skills, the Chinese built several railway workshop facilities, gifts freely given in revolutionary solidarity with the people of Africa.

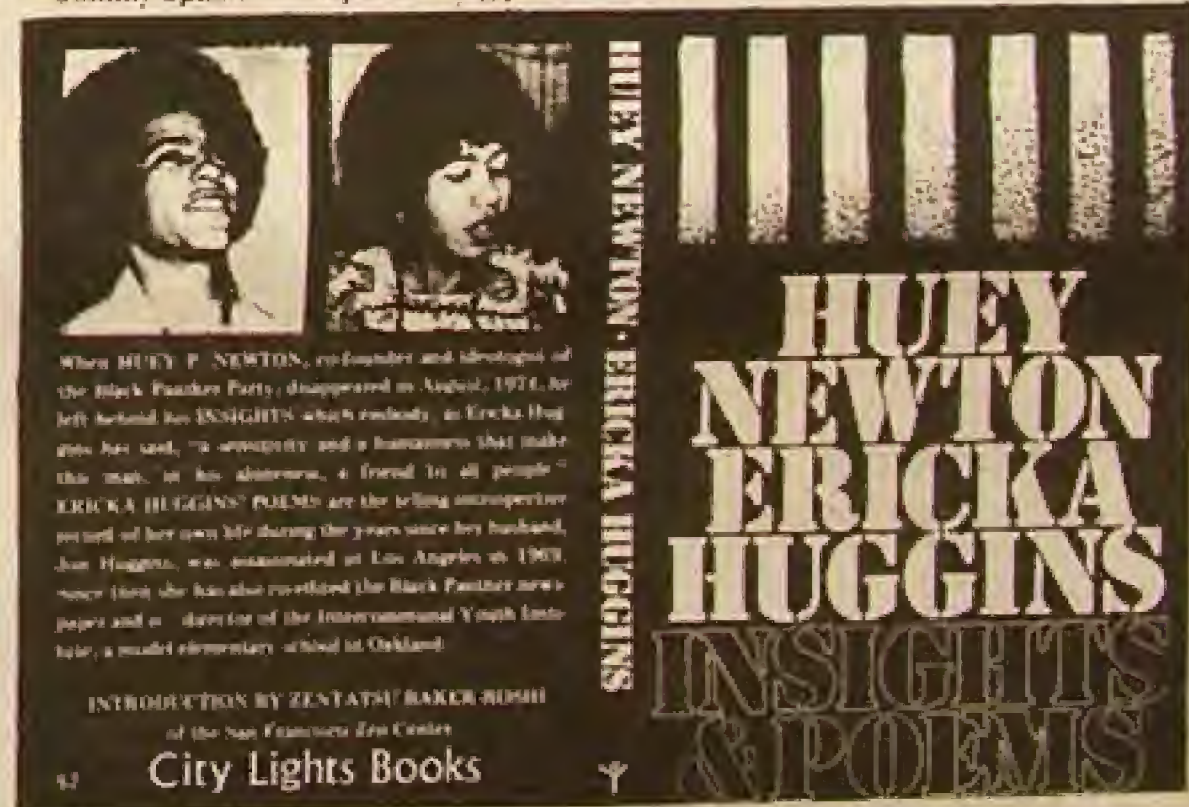
A source of constant inspiration to the Tanzanian and Zambian workers was the diligent, hard work put out by the Chinese. Whatever the task — in one case, the workers had to dig through six feet of rock in order to reach the kind of rock they needed for the railroad — the Chinese undertook it with dedication.

The film also shows the ingenious technical skills of the Chinese. Thanks to new methods of track laying they have perfected, the railroad was completed a year ahead of schedule.

The influx of 14,000 Chinese could have been a severe economic burden on the poor countries of Tanzania and Zambia. However, intent on not imposing on their African hosts, the Chinese grew gardens, supplying 80 per cent of their own food.

The completion of the railroad was an occasion of great rejoicing for the Tanzanian and Zambian people. For the two African countries, struggling to bolster their economies as well as make Black-ruled southern Africa self-reliant, the "Great Freedom Railroad" is a political statement, an example of how the people of the Third World are taking control of their lives to end the oppression they have suffered so long at the hands of Western imperialism. □

—Johnny Spain: "... a penetrating probe for truth



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More Than Games

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

was a shrewd stroke, for competition with South Africa in that sport has been a major issue in New Zealand's last two elections. In 1972, the Labor Party won a clear mandate to allow a South African team to tour New Zealand, but the threat of hostile demonstrations forced a cancellation. Public opposition to that unilateral action helped bring to power the opposition National Party, which promised to let the 1976 tour go ahead.

All this seems incredible unless one understands that rugby is more than just a sport in New Zealand and South Africa. In both nations it is a "religion," or at least a profound symbol of national identity. They say you can only talk to a White South African about two things—politics and rugby; with a New Zealander, just one—rugby—or such was the case until the Montreal Olympics.

But race and, therefore, politics have always been involved in competitive relations between these countries, which have dominated international rugby for some 60 years.

Until the 1960s, New Zealand "respected South Africa's system" by excluding its Maori players (the nation's indigenous non-Whites) from touring teams. South Africa, of course, totally excluded Blacks from playing either at home or in New Zealand. But in 1967 critics in New Zealand forced their government to cancel a tour to South Africa because that country would not allow the Maori players to enter.

PRESSURE

Finally, South Africa succumbed to pressure, preferring to compromise its "principles" rather than lose an international sports contact of such unparalleled political significance.

It could hardly afford to have done otherwise. Since its expulsion from the Olympics in 1968, South Africa has suffered actual or threatened expulsion from virtually every international contest and, perhaps more traumatic, severance of sports relations with traditional competitors such as England and Australia.

The psychological impact of all this on White South Africans has been tremendous. Perhaps more than any other thing, the sports boycott has led to changes in White attitudes toward integration and those to amelioration of some aspects of South Africa's apartheid system. Multiracial competition, though admittedly cosmetic so far, has begun to emerge in several sports.

South African policeman beats Colored demonstrator during last week's Cape-town uprising.



For years, many sportsmen preached that the "dialogue" of multinational competition would eventually lure South Africa into gradual change, while direct action such as boycotts would have no effect. They have been proved dismally wrong. There is nothing like isolation from their traditional contacts to make Western-oriented White South Africans rethink some of their policies. As the recent furor over apartheid and rugby has shown, the tail can be made to wag the dog.

Since rugby has such intensely political implications in South Africa and New Zealand, it is difficult to fault Black Africans for boycotting the Olympics to make their gesture of protest. But can international sport survive in the long run, if such political actions—however well motivated—become commonplace?

It may be possible to draw some reasonable guidelines. Certainly, the International Olympic Committee's exclusion of South Africa, which kept 80 per cent of its own people from Olympic

competition, was a necessary application of the movement's principles, not a threat to them. But the question becomes ambiguous if one tries to extend the ban to countries that simply compete with South Africa—or any other political pariah. Clearly, aggrieved nations like those of Black Africa, which call for the total isolation of antagonistic countries, ought to proceed with care.

The Africans' Olympic boycott may have damaged international sport, but has not proved fatal. However, unless Black Africans obtain really effective political forums in which to act on legitimate political grievances, they are unlikely to desist in areas like sport. Nor can we reasonably expect them to abandon so effective a weapon.

Long ago, Black Africans came to realize what may Westerners have yet to learn: Whenever supporters of apartheid enter a competitive arena—whether for rugby or gymnastics—there are points being scored that have nothing to do with sport. □

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA



Caribbean Community

The Caribbean community made its presence felt at the Fifth Nonaligned Summit Conference which recently met in Colombo, Sri Lanka. In a brief address, Prime Minister Forbes Burnham of Guyana called on the nonaligned movement to pool its financial, natural and human resources to insure a fair distribution of wealth and to strengthen the bargaining position of developing nations.

Jornada Por Chile

La Pena Cultural Center and Restaurant, located at 3105 Shattuck Avenue in Berkeley, California, each month sponsors a "Jornada Por Chile," an evening of political and cultural presentations dedicated to the Chilean people. On September 10 the Jornada will focus on the growing resistance movement, featuring a Chilean speaker well-informed on the situation of the resistance against Chile's repressive military regime.

Chile

The September Eleven Coalition—an organization of 14 Bay Area church, labor, Chilean and Latin American support groups—will stage a peaceful demonstration at the Chilean consulate in San Francisco on Friday, September 10, at noon. The Coalition will protest the internationally documented violations of human rights in Chile by the ruling military junta since the CIA-inspired overthrow of the Popular Unity government of Marxist President Salvador Allende on September 11, 1973. According to Coalition organizers, the four principal demands of the demonstration are:

- The restoration of human, democratic and trade union rights, and the release of all political prisoners in Chile;

- The cut-off of all U.S. government and corporate aid to the military junta;

- Full implementation of the program under which 400 Chilean refugee families are being allowed by the U.S. government to resettle in this country;

- An accounting by the military junta for the more than 2,500 persons who have simply "disappeared," after having been picked up by the intelligence services.

In Memoriam

**Salvadore
Allende
Gossens**

**Assassinated
September 11, 1973**



Joining together as one mighty force with oppressed and disenfranchised people throughout the world, THE BLACK PANTHER this week pays tribute to the illustrious achievements of the late Chilean President SALVADORE ALLENDE GOSSENS (center), whose CIA-inspired assassination on September 11, 1973, sparks but further determination in the struggle for the freedom and liberation of all humankind.

SPORTS



Cuban Olympics athletes received a thunderous welcome at Havana's Jose Marti Airport. ALBERTO JUANTORENA hugs Cuban leader FIDEL CASTRO (center) and Castro (right) greets proud winners in crowded airport lobby.

PRIME MINISTER CASTRO GREET'S ATHLETES AT AIRPORT RECEPTION

ROUSING WELCOME FOR CUBAN OLYMPICS CHAMPIONS

(Havana, Cuba) - Athletes in the Cuban delegation to the Montreal Olympics, whose brilliant achievements rose above all expectations, received a rousing welcome from their people and Cuban leader Fidel Castro upon their arrival home last week.

Receiving overwhelming cheers as the athletes descended from the plane were the gold medalists from the Cuban team: Alberto Juantorena, winner in an unprecedented sweep of both the 400 and 800-meter runs; Teofilo Stevenson, the Olympics' first two-time heavyweight boxing champion; Jorge Hernandez, fly-weight boxing; Angel Herrera, featherweight boxing; and Hector Rodriguez, bantam weight judo champ.

After all of the athletes had left the plane, Juantorena, on behalf of all the Cuban athletes, present-

ed Castro with a plaque reading: "Fidel, we are a product of the Moncada and of the *Granma*, so our successes are inspired by them and the determination of the people to win."

CUBAN LEADER

Fidel hugged Juantorena and then the Cuban leader chatted with all of the victors about their achievements.

In talking with the athletes, Castro remarked that even more importance will be given to Cuba's national athletic program, adding that the range of sports practiced would be widened. He noted that there had been an improvement in all sports except basketball, and a study of available facilities had to be made in order to give certain fields which had been neglected special attention.

When these and other athletes arrived at Havana's Jose Marti International Airport, a huge

crowd was on hand to welcome them, led by Prime Minister Castro and leading members of the Cuban Communist Party. Naturally, the mercurial Juantorena and towering Stevenson received thunderous applause for their history-making feats at Montreal.

Juantorena best exemplified the spirit of Cuba's athletes when, in an interview with *Granma*, he said, "I dedicate my victory to the people of Cuba, who are engaged in the organization of People's Power, to the Revolutionary Government, to Commander-in-Chief Castro; and to all those who in one way or another made it possible for revolutionary sports to be present at the Olympics."

Stevenson stated, "I dedicate this (boxing) victory to my people... and to the internationalist fighters in Angola."

Probably the biggest surprise



ALBERTO JUANTORENA blazed to a lifetime best of 44.25 seconds in his Olympics 400-meter run victory.

for Cuba was the unexpected victory of boxer Angel Herrera in the featherweight division. *Granma* called the rookie "without a doubt, the boxing revelation of Montreal Olympics." Only 19 years old, Herrera has already compiled 56 wins against 19 losses. When he was chosen to be a part of the Cuban boxing team, he was unknown among his people. In his bout with Davey Armstrong of the U.S. for the gold medal, Herrera displayed tremendous courage and tenacity.

For Hernandez and Rodriguez, their victories were the culmination of years of practice and sacrifice as both were already world class competitors.

Overall, all of Cuba's athletes lived up to their motto: "The Revolution is proud of its athletes; they fulfilled their pledge." □



Cuban hurdler ALEJANDRO CASANAS won a silver medal in the Montreal Olympics with time of 13.3 seconds in the 110-meter high hurdles.



TEOFILO STEVENSON (right) humiliated heavyweight boxer JOHN TATE with a first round knockout.

MOTION FOR NEW S.Q. 6 TRIAL

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

"Now this Court should grant defendant Johnson a new trial."

Attached to the motion for a new trial, the first of three installments, are sworn affidavits from three jurors in the celebrated case who eyewitnessed Bales' spying attempts; one from the Marin County deputy sheriff assigned to bailiff duties; and one from attorney Cox.

The Cox affidavit relates that he accidentally learned of the Bales incident on September 3, some three weeks after the return of the jury verdict on August 12.

"There is no court record of this incident to my knowledge," Cox writes.

The affidavits from the jurors — Roy Falk, Patricia Fagan, and jury foreperson Cara Shipley — detail the circumstances surrounding the incident. As a highly suspect "coincidence," the affidavits all relate that the jurors were returning from a court session in which the specifics of testimony concerning the charges against David Johnson were discussed. In addition, the blackboard in the jury room, visible to Bales from the outside, contained juror notes concerning the Johnson case.

SOME EXPLANATION

"I expected something to happen or some explanation to follow our reporting this incident. At the time, I was very upset because of this incident, and felt Mr. Bales wanted to enter the deliberation room while we were in Courtroom Three, in open session.

"I could not believe that the District Attorney of the County of Marin could be so confused as to where the San Quentin Six jury was deliberating to have made an honest mistake. No explanation or admonishment of this incident was ever made to the jury by the Court, the bailiff, or anyone.

"I was incensed that a man of his position would attempt something as stupid as this, however, it did not affect my deliberations," juror Fagan states.

Despite juror Fagan's contention that the incident did not affect her ability to achieve a just verdict, the Cox motion states:

"The conclusion is inescapable that at least one or more jurors may have perceived the trial judge's silence after this incident had been reported to Bailiff MacKay as a mandate that the jury should reach verdicts of guilt no matter what Bruce Bales did in rigging his one-photo lineup against defendant David Johnson, no matter how much evidence was destroyed by the

prosecutor, no matter what foul play would be committed by the prosecutor.

"Indeed, the trial judge's silence in the face of this incident, from the point of view of the sequestered jury, seems proof positive that the District Attorney can get away with anything—that the Court must feel jury verdicts of guilty are justified no matter how they are obtained."

Johnson was convicted of a single count of assault on a prison guard.

SIMILAR MOTION

Charles R. Garry, attorney for Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain, indicated that he would file a similar motion for a new trial.

Meanwhile, Johnson was sentenced to 13 years of extreme isolation conditions within the California prison system's grim Adjustment Centers by the prison Classification Committee last week.

The Classification Committee, made up of the head of San Quentin's segregation unit and two subordinates, pronounced its outrageous decision against Johnson prior to his actual court

sentence, which is scheduled for September 30.

The two other defendants convicted by the jury of 11 Whites and one Black after 24 days of deliberations were: Hugo Pinell, of two counts of assault on prison guards; and Johnny Larry Spain, of two counts of murder and one count of conspiracy to escape. Acquitted were defendants Willie Tate, Fleeta Drumgo and Luis Talamantez. The jury verdict has been denounced as "a compromise" and "a sacrifice" by all major participants in the case, civil libertarians, prison reform groups and others, including the Black Panther Party.

If the Classification Committee's decision — which credits the more than five years Johnson has already served in the notorious San Quentin Adjustment Center as "time served" — survives the appeals process, the popular 29-year-old Black inmate known as "Jap" by friends, will not be released from the debilitating AC setting until 1984.

Contacted by THE BLACK PANTHER last Tuesday, September 7, Cox labeled the Classification Committee's ruling as

"utterly barbaric."

He said he would first appeal the decision to San Quentin's warden, and then on to California Director of Corrections Jerry Enomoto.

The bespeckled young attorney said Johnson was totally "bewildered" by the sentence, which came down the previous Thursday.

Neither Spain nor Pinell has, as yet, come before the Classification Committee since the completion of the trial, the longest and most expensive in California history.

Although he presented no defense at the trial, Johnson's conviction was all the more contradictory since Willie Tate was acquitted. The prosecution's admittedly flimsy case against both defendants was almost identical. Guard Charles Breckenridge provided the sole "evidence" against both Johnson and Tate, implicating both of leading him down the tier to the cell where his throat was slit, and later of attempting to strangle him when he survived the throat lacerations.

Both Tate and Johnson said that they were in their cells at the time (which were adjoining). Yet the jury convicted Johnson and acquitted Tate.

SAN DIEGO NATIVE

A native of the San Diego area, David Johnson was sentenced to prison for five years to life in 1968 as the result of a simple burglary conviction. According to a probation officer's report, Johnson's explanation for the burglary is the common example of misfortune in the lives of Black and poor people: "We and some people got together and decided we needed money."

In February, 1970, Johnson was confined in San Quentin's B-Section when a Black inmate, Fred Edward Billingslea, was tear-gassed and beaten to death by guards. Johnson and several other inmates filed a federal class action suit — which is still pending — against the prison.

Labeled as a "troublemaker" as a result of the lawsuit filing, Johnson was transferred to the Adjustment Center abruptly in May, 1971, accused of assaulting a guard.

Three years later, in February, 1974, Johnson learned that the district attorney had decided not to try the case against him. But by that time Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson had been assassinated, and the selective prosecution against the San Quentin 6 had begun. □



If it is left up to the Classification Committee, San Quentin 6 defendant DAVID JOHNSON (inset) will spend 13 more years (five of those time served) of confinement in California Adjustment Centers (see cell above).

Tanzanian Model City

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

National Assembly will rise above the residential and commercial areas below. Other government offices, a university campus, a convention hall and parks will round out the city center.

To keep to the theme of a human-centered capital, the city center won't have towering buildings or mammoth expressways.

Public housing will be no more than three stories high. "High rise residential development," Mr. Kahama explains, "apart from being totally unnecessary in this case and sociologically unsound for families with children, is inconsistent with the aim of enabling everyone to be near the land to work it."

CLUSTERS OF 10

The plan to build houses in clusters of 10 each will keep the city life close to the country's village traditions, narrowing the gap between urban and rural lifestyles. Mr. Kahama hopes the clusters will encourage good neighborliness, providing intimate support and assistance to those who are new to urban life.

"The peoples of Africa have traditionally done many domestic village tasks together in a communal fashion and the master plan intends to promote this in the new city through the self-help approach," Mr. Kahama says. He envisions communal activities like building classrooms, forming adult literacy classes or simply pounding corn.

The housing clusters will be grouped into neighborhoods of about 7,000 people, each with its own elementary school, park and community center.

Four neighborhoods will be grouped in a residential community of 25,000 to 30,000 people. Twelve such communities, all with small scale industries, are on the drawing boards.

Heavy industry will be concentrated in the northwest corner of the city, so the prevailing southern winds will blow any pollutants away.

Transportation, including bicycling and walking, is a major consideration in Dodoma's master plan. Children will be no more than a few minutes walk from their school — and they will never have to cross a road to get there.

Only time will tell whether Tanzania's dream will come true. But if it does, Dodoma will likely become — on a continent of ex-colonial capitals, each with its contrasting skyscrapers and squatter compounds — the model city. □

Letters to the Editor

MARYLAND WARDEN LIES ABOUT PRISON CONDITIONS

Honorable Charles McG. Mathias, Jr.
United States Senator, Maryland

Dear Senator Mathias:

In response to your letter from an unknown inmate complaining about our segregation unit, please be advised that we do not have solitary confinement any longer. Solitary confinement means complete isolation where a person is confined in an extremely closed setting (solid door) and has no access to other individuals.

With regard to this individual's allegation on showering, be advised we shower twice a week and we exercise in 30-minute intervals on an average of three times a week and more often when the personnel permit.

There are many windows located in our segregation unit, which face the yard. Fresh air is constantly coming in.

The allegation regarding mice, rats and roaches running in and out of his cell is exaggerated. We presently have a contract with the Empire Exterminating Company, who take care of our rodent and insect situation. Also, we have institutional personnel who spray the cells for rodents and insects. We also encourage the inmates to keep their cells clean at all times.

The mentioning that the officers take their time when someone is sick is completely false. We have a medical officer in segregation every day and we have sick call for segregated inmates every day.

We try to discourage people from setting fire in their cells, but if they do, we have fire extinguishers and we are very cognizant of the lives in our charges. No one has ever died in the Maryland Penitentiary as a result of a fire, to my knowledge.

If an inmate is in his cell and refuses to come out, we try to talk to the inmates and reason with him to obey the lawful order. If this fails, then we have to go in and get him. The most humane way and safest way for the inmate and the officer is to use gas to subdue the inmate. When this is done, the inmate is showered immediately. If anyone else receives gas, they are also showered. In addition, a complete airing of the wing is done.

Segregation visits have to be escorted through the yard by an officer. All segregation visits are responded to as soon as possible.

The mirrors were taken away from the segregated inmates because women inmates were using them as weapons and inmates, as well as officers, were being hurt unnecessarily.

All inmate complaints are evaluated by some staff members of the Maryland Penitentiary.

I can assure you, Senator, that we take every precaution humanly possible to treat all inmates humanely in all situations, and we do keep the institution in a clean and sanitary condition.

Thank you very much for your concern and if there is any further information that we can supply you with, we will be glad to do so.

Sincerely yours,
McLindsey Hawkins
Assistant Warden-Custody
Maryland State Penitentiary

(Editor's note: See next week's issue for the inmates' reply to this distorted letter.)

GEORGIA INMATES FORM "WE THE PEOPLE"

Dear Comrades:

I am addressing this letter to all concerned and revolutionary-minded persons. This is an appeal for assistance for a large number of men confined inside the walls of the largest concentration camp in the Royal Colony of Georgia. A number of the brothers have come together to formulate "We The People" (WTP), so that we could pool our resources and solicit aid in order to aid the whole.

We respectfully solicit aid in the following form: correspondences, books, magazines or financial contributions. Please remember, "A mind is a terrible thing to waste."

Please publish this letter in your newspaper. People can forward contributions to either of the following two addresses:

Bro. James X. Simmons, #64269 - M-1
Chairman (WTP)
Georgia State Penitentiary
Reidsville Ga., 30453

Bro. James G. Mosley, #61415 - M-1
Co-Chairman (WTP)
Georgia State Penitentiary
Reidsville, Ga. 30453

Police Attack Coloreds And Whites

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

When the students and onlookers, many of whom were White, refused to obey police orders to leave the area of Grand Parade Square on Adderley Street, the police again fired their shotguns and used tear gas to clear the street, causing the demonstrators to choke and vomit. Approaches to downtown Capetown were sealed off by police.

Earlier in the week, on Tuesday, 500 sign-carrying Colored students at Spandau, some 200 miles north of the coastal city of Port Elizabeth, were attacked by police after they staged a demonstration demanding the release of an arrested leader. □

Pentagon Ignores Gas Ban

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

Rutman pointed out that no binary nerve gas bomb has ever been field-tested — at least not to public knowledge — but that the last known field test of any American nerve gas was the one that killed 6,000 sheep at the Army Dugway Proving Ground in Utah in 1968.

These gases, he noted, are all related to chemical compounds that are highly dangerous when used as pesticides on farms. They can cause mutations in unborn infants, birth defects as well as cancer.

"Any use of nerve gases," Rutman stated, "implies a willingness to attack the present generation of combatants by attacking future generations with a cancer risk."

WEAKER POISONS

Rutman explained that while the "binary bombs" create somewhat weaker poisons than the nerve gases now in America's stockpile, they have military advantages since they can be transported and stored more safely, making them more available to troops in the field.

The Defense Department, Rutman said, is now trying to make more than one billion "binary bombs" to replace its stockpile of so-called "obsolete" nerve gas projectiles. George R. Berdes, staff consultant to the House Subcommittee on International Security and Science, told the symposium that Congress in the past two years has twice denied funds for the Army to buy the new binary weapons. □

U.N. Report Condemns Sharpeville Massacre

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

Angola and stubborn occupation of the southern part of this independent African state is a demonstration that the new defense bill, like all of South Africa's barbaric laws, is no mere threat. Apartheid South Africa feels licensed to commit aggression against any independent African state. The British magazine, *The Economist*, reveals where Western countries stand when their economic interests get affected:

"It is on the borders of South Africa...that the West should be ready to draw a line in defense of its economic interests."

O.A.U. TRADITION

And since it is OAU tradition that independent states should help those countries fighting for their liberation, it is clear that "defense of its economic interests" for the West could include the aggression against those countries in Africa which refuse to take South Africa's bribes.

To help the Azanian liberation movement, and Africa as a whole, a commitment is required from the international community which goes beyond the condemnations poured at South Africa since Sharpeville.

Measures need to be taken, within the United Nations system as well as at the national level in every country, and these must rapidly lead to all United Nations member states, among other measures, ratifying and implementing the provisions of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

A recent report from the Nairobi Sunday Nation or the general atmosphere inside Azania is fitting for concluding this article because the situation it describes is reminiscent of the mood inside the country during the time of Sharpeville:

"At first glance inside South Africa there is little to show that it could be on the brink of a prolonged war. But scratch the surface. There are all the fears and frustrations of a population preparing to defend itself. It is Whites who are getting edgy...

"At the scene of a shooting in Central Johannesburg — I heard a chilling comment: 'They are getting frightened it's Angola.' Main railway stations are periodically packed with soldiers, many leaving behind wives and children as they head off to the barracks. The radio plays record requests 'for the boys on the border'...A mining official dis-



The struggle for the liberation of Azania (South Africa) has made a great leap due to the current widespread revolt.

creetly displays his armory, which he bought just in case — two hand guns, a .22 rifle and a shotgun.

"Many of the Whites have been on retreat most of their lives, moving down Africa as each country gained independence and Black rule. South Africa was the last 'refuge'...Now they all sit in South Africa — four and a half million Whites outnumbered five

to one by Blacks — wondering what the future holds. A lot have yet another escape route through retaining their original nationality, particularly the British.

"In the meantime they will heed Major General Neil Webster, the director-general of resources, who recently told them 'to get used to the idea of living with a warlike situation for many years to come.'"

London Blacks Charge Police "Overkill"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

Sir Mark blamed the violence on "Black hooligans" and said the large number of policemen assigned to the festival was justified because of the large turnout of people — about 200,000 according to police. property damage and looting of a number of stores and shops along Portabello Road, a major street in the impoverished area.

Neighborhood workers interviewed by *The New York Times* maintained that the economic and social unrest experienced by the younger generation of London West Indians was at the root of the violence.

In the last 10 years the number of non-Whites in Great Britain has grown from one million to 1.9 million, or about 3.4 per cent of the total population. Ten years ago about one-fourth of the non-Whites were London-born. Today the proportion is about 40 per cent, with five out of six of those under 21 having been born

in London.

Unemployment among minorities in the country is about twice the national average of six per cent, and among young Blacks it is about three times the national average. The younger generation of Blacks, unlike their parents, do not consider themselves "immigrants" and therefore compare their poverty-stricken living conditions with the reality of affluent present-day British society, not as their parents do, with whatever country they immigrated from.

George Crawford, a Black storekeeper, summed it up: "The parents were happy just to get here and be here, happy to get out of wherever it was they lived before. But the kids who were born here want more. And they are not getting what they want, either because they are Black or because the economy is bad. And so they leave school at 15 and 16, and just sit around getting angrier and angrier."

Neto Interview

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

Matadi.

Although we are not absolutely certain, we think that what remains of UNITA continue to have activities in Zambia.

These activities help to upset our process of national reconstruction, but they are unavoidably headed for failure. I think that at the present time in Cabinda we have about a thousand prisoners from the so-called FLEC who came from Zaire to raid our territories.



Young Angolan aspires to defend his revolutionary country.

All the elements of reaction are mobilizing themselves to destroy the PRA. We know very well that they will always try to do so, because the very reason for their existence, the function itself of the agents of imperialism, is to destroy progressive regimes. But they forget one thing: the positive action of our people, who also mobilize, in order to liquidate forever the forces that seek to destroy us. Our strength, as always, resides in the great confidence our people have in the direction of the MPLA, in their total and unshakeable agreement with the political line that we follow, and in their political sophistication, especially in the cities, where the political process underway is extraordinary. We don't know whether the governments of these neighboring countries are aware of the activities that originate there. In any case, we are ready to resist and to continue along the path which we have chosen.

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